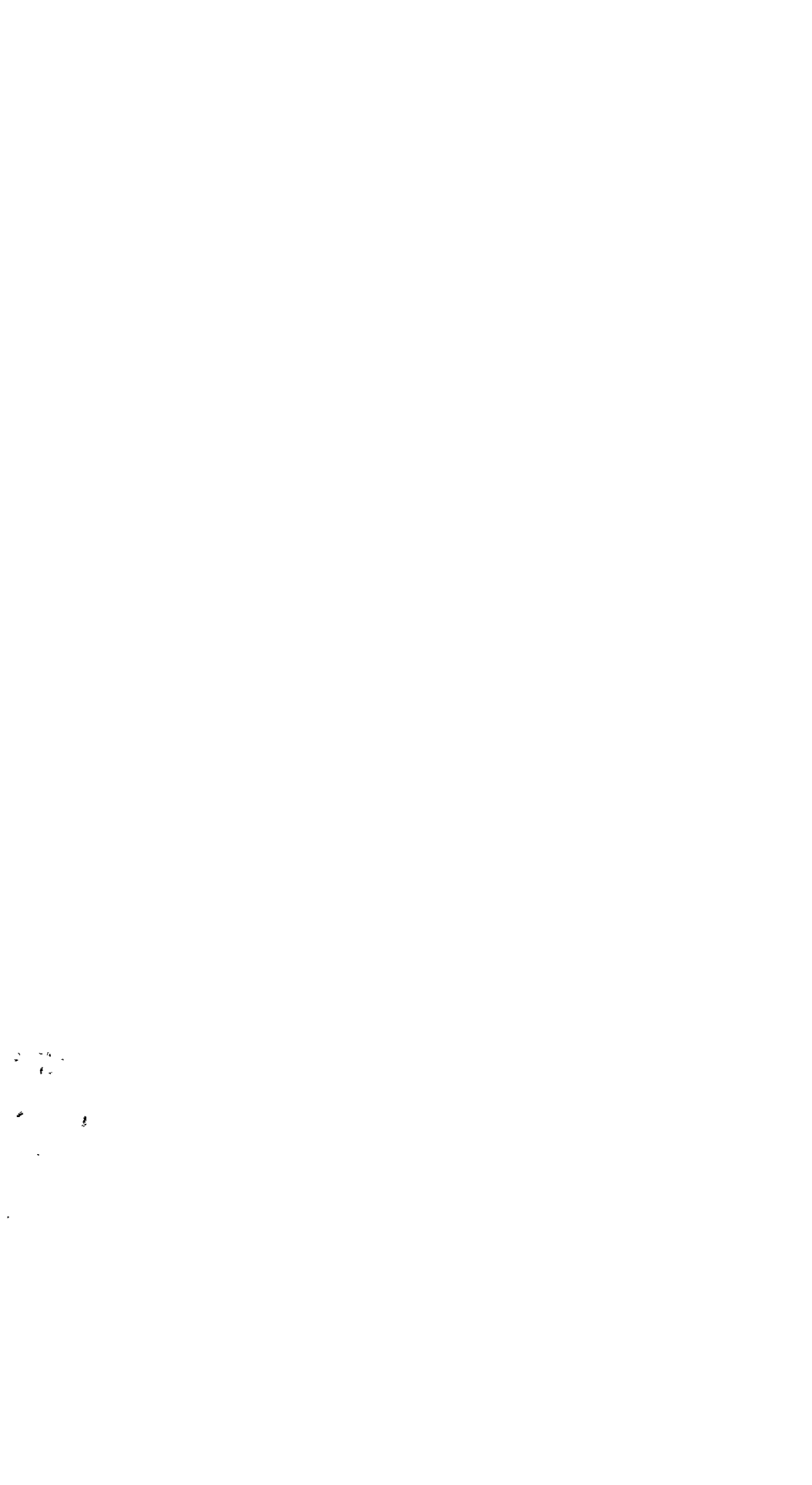


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SPEECHES

OF THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN.

FEBRUARY 11, 1788.

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST ELIJAH IMPEY.

The order of the day, for the house to resolve itself into a committee to hear witnesses on charges exhibited against Sir Elijah Impey, having been read, Sir Gilbert Elliot moved—"That Mr. Farrer, a member of the house, be examined in his place." Mr. Farrer said, he felt no objection to be examined, provided it was at the desire of both parties and of the committee, but that he would, on no account, consent to be considered as the witness either of the accusers or of the accused. It was then proposed to call Sir Elijah to the bar, and ask whether he had any objection to having Mr. Farrer examined; but

MR. SHERIDAN observed, that if such a measure was adopted, it would put the house into a most embarrassing situation, as it would be difficult for them to proceed, in case Sir Elijah Impey should refuse to consent. Mr. Sheridan added, that the honorable gentleman had already informed the committee that he had it in his power to throw more light upon the subject of the first charge, than any man living; and if it was declared to be the sense of that committee, he had no objection, he would therefore move to declare that it was the sense of that committee that Mr. Farrer be examined.

The motion was carried.—Mr. Farrer then proceeded to give his evidence, and began a regular detail of all the circumstances of Nundcomar's case, tracing them from the first time of their agitation, before Sir Elijah Impey's arrival in India, down to the arraignment of Nundcomar, on an indictment for perjury in the Supreme Court of Judicature. In the early part of the narration, Mr. Farrer stated that he had in his hand a warrant, on the back of which was written, by an attorney, an account of the conversation of the judges, upon application to them to grant a writ of habeas corpus to Nundcomar. Mr. Farrer said, the gentleman who wrote the account was gone to India, but that he knew it to be his handwriting. Having said this, he read the account, and it was taken down by the clerk at the table. Mr. John Scott then rose, and seriously declared his conviction that this former objection was right, and that the witness ought not to have been suffered to give his testimony in any other way but in answer to such questions as might have been put to him. Mr. Scott declared the paper just read would not have been received in any court in the kingdom, since it was not evidence, but a mere hear-say account of a conversation. Mr. Scott enlarged upon the established law of evidence, and upon the necessity of strictly adhering to it in all proceedings in any-sort leading to a judicial determination. This gave rise to various remarks concerning the nature of the proceeding upon which the committee were then engaged. Mr. Fox maintained that the paper just read was a proper paper to be upon the table, considering the nature of the present proceeding; and declared it was not a proceeding at all analogous to any legal measures in the courts of Westminster Hall; nor was the house at all bound by the rules of legal evidence. He also observed, that he felt it impossible to speak of lawyers in the highest terms of praise, when he saw them coming down in a body, to puzzle and confound the members of that house, by advancing rules of law practice, in cases where they did not apply; and he reminded the committee that the house had, on various occasions, exerted its authority, and even gone so far as to punish the judges by impeaching them for misconstruction of the laws of the land. Mr. Bearcroft observed, that he could not avoid expressing his astonishment at the illiberal obloquy with which the right honourable gentleman opposite to him had treated a whole profession. He added, that if he was to lay his finger upon the particular point that had raised the practice of law in this country so high in the estimation of all the world, it would be upon the law of evidence. He took notice of Mr. Fox having said he was bred in that house, and declared, if his late speech was to be taken as a proof of that breeding, he desired no more of it. He next entered into a justification of the gentlemen of his profession from the charge of being actuated, on the present occasion, by an esprit du corps. Was it, he said, to be wondered at that lawyers should appear anxious to attend the agitation of a charge against a lawyer of long standing, and unsullied character; and that charge as black a one as ever was imputed to any man, or even any lawyer?

Mr. Sheridan remarked, that the honorable and learned gentleman, he perceived, was desirous of not only teaching that house the law, but breeding, and he wished still farther to teach them French. He could not but admire the comical sort of argument which the honorable and learned gentleman had used in justification of his profession. He had said every thing handsome of them, and followed his encomium, by adding, whimsically, that the charge against Sir Elijah Impey was as black as could be brought against any man; nay, against any lawyer. Mr. Sheridan declared that he could not pass over in silence the reflections on his right honorable friend (by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr. Bearcroft) for a speech, which, he thought, did his right honorable friend infinite honor. He was sure his right honorable friend had meant nothing personal; but was it to be wondered at, if, in his zeal to defend the privileges of that house, he should reprobate the attempt to mix the practice of the law courts in their proceedings, to which they were utterly inapplicable? The paper in question Mr. Sheridan declared to be, in the true sense of the words, good evidence; for what was good evidence, but that which was applicable to the end to which it was applied, and which the court, before whom it was exhibited, was competent to receive. Different courts, it was well known, had different powers; and what would be evidence in one court, would not be evidence in another. Thus, what was evidence in the Court of Chancery, would not be evidence in the Court of King's Bench, nor would that testimony that was good evidence on a trial for felony be admissible on a trial for high treason. Mr. Sheridan took notice that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had, with all that wonderful power of words for which he was so celebrated, pronounced a swelling panegyric on the honorable and learned gentleman near him (Major Scott), but he had given his argument and his conviction to his

of the constitution of a free people. He admitted that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated the object of the declaratory bill fully and fairly; but it was a bill, the principle of which he denied to be founded on the bill of the year 1784; and if it was not proved to be clearly so, it was impossible that the house could agree to adopt it as a law explanatory of the powers of that bill. If the Board of Control wished to grasp at new powers and new patronage, why did they not come forward with a new bill? But they did not dare to meet the question openly and fairly; well knowing that it would have exposed them to all the calumny which they themselves had so liberally bestowed on the violators of chartered rights! The board had wisely adopted a mercantile idea in suffering the company to deliver up their rights and privileges by instalment.

But the right honorable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) had, with his usual plausibility, declared, that they wished to be armed with no powers that were not subject to the control of parliament: What did this declaration amount to? They only wished to have the military patronage of India in their hands, under the control of parliament!—*Control* was, indeed, a word not in very good repute at present;—but to talk of the control of parliament over an army which was not paid by parliament, was too ridiculous to need any comment;—and yet such was the controlling power which the right honorable gentleman had desired might be set over him. Undoubtedly, if he had spoken of the army on the British establishment, he would have been warranted in saying that it was subject to the control of parliament, because the king had no other means of paying that army but by coming to parliament for the money. Here the case was widely different, for the regiments now proposed to be sent to India were to be paid, not by parliament, but by the territorial revenues of the East India Company.

But what was still more extraordinary (and he desired the house to attend to it) by the last clause of the act it was declared to be in the power of the commissioners for managing the affairs of India, to send as many troops as they might think necessary for the security of our possessions in that quarter of the globe. The clause was worded in the most unqualified terms; they might even send to India an army of ten thousand Hanoverians, or any number of mercenaries collected, as the Earl of Chatham emphatically said, from the *shambles* of Germany, thus giving to the executive government the monstrous and unheard-of patronage of a foreign army not paid by parliament. He desired gentlemen to pause before they came to a vote on a question pregnant with such danger to the state.

He confessed that he was not a little surprised to find a renewal of invectives against the bill brought forward by his right honorable friend (Mr. Fox.) Considering the strong measures which the present bill goes to embrace, he rather expected to have found the severity of some gentlemen softened into phrases more conciliatory. He remembered that an honorable gentleman had once compared the India board constituted by that bill, to seven doctors and eight apothecaries administering to the health of one poor patient—but their prescriptions were more palatable than the dose now mixing by the learned doctor of control, who, in the true spirit of quackery, desires his patient to take it; that he has no occasion to confine himself at home, but that he may safely go about his business as usual. This sovereign remedy, he said, would no doubt soon be adventured under the popular name of “Scots pills for all sorts of oriental disorders.” Mr. Sheridan then took a comparative view of the merits of the two India bills, in which he paid a compliment to the manly and decided conduct of Mr. Fox, in opposition to the crooked policy which had led to the discussion of the question then before the house. It

was very remarkable that when the right honorable gentleman introduced his bill, he prefaced it with a speech, declaring that it had been fully explained to the directors, and that they approved of it. This he now was inclined to doubt, otherwise it would be difficult to account for the declaratory bill. But perfection was not the lot of humanity. This was the seventh perfect system which had been introduced for the good government of India, and still there was much to do.

Mr. Sheridan here read the titles of the various acts which have from time to time been introduced by Mr. Dundas, and as often repealed, altered, or amended; one of which was "an act to obviate all doubts which have arisen, or may in future arise, respecting the government of India."

He then proceeded to animadvert on the interference of the Board of Control with the patronage of the company, not only in the civil and military, but in their commercial concerns; and read extracts from their correspondence in support of his assertion. He compared the Board of Control, the Court of Directors, and the body of proprietors, to the *Dramatis Personæ* of Swift's Tale of a Tub, and concluded with an appeal to the feelings of the house on the situation of the officers of the East-India Company, who, if the present bill should pass into a law, would suffer degradation and disgrace, not only in their own opinion, but in the eyes of those whom they had often led on to victory.

The house divided; ayes (that the speaker leave the chair) 182; noes 125. The house then went into a committee, and Mr. Steele was ordered to bring up the report on the following day.

on that house?—That they were to fit every man out with power in proportion to his character. That was to be the slop-shop for Indian governors; they were to give to one man the flowing robes of imperial despotism, and to another the short skirts of limited monarchy. The constitution of England must not trust to such means of safety; and in arguing about principles, they must not think of men. He averred, that the bill gave the Board of Control the power of appropriating the revenues of the company to what purposes they pleased; and they might put 500,000*l.* at discretion into their own pockets, or those of their friends. They had the power of uncontrolled corruption. They might subsidize the court of Poonah. They might take into their pay 20,000 Mahratta horse; they might annihilate the commerce of the company; and all this they might do by means of this declaratory bill.

The bill of his right honorable friend had been said to erect a monster unknown to the constitution, because a noble Lord (Earl Fitzwilliam) and the seven commissioners were invested with certain powers. Compare the powers of that board with the powers of this. Lord Fitzwilliam and the commissioners could not send forth a dispatch; they could neither declare war nor make peace in India; they could neither subsidize Poonah, nor entertain a body of Mahratta horse, without having the pleasure of the king signified through the medium of the Secretary of State. The board of control could do all this. They could declare war; they could make peace; they could enter into subsidiary treaties with the princes of India; they could collect all the revenues of the company; and they could apply them to what purpose they pleased, without the consent of the King. Mr. Sheridan put this in various points of view, and then came to animadvert on what Mr. Pitt had said with regard to the bill of 1784 not being made on a compact with the company. Mr. Sheridan averred, that the whole of the bill was made

with the declared consent of the court of directors. The minister had stood upon that compact, had pleaded their approbation as a matter of argument, and it was passed into a law clearly on the ground of compact and consent. But now the right honorable gentleman wished to violate the engagement, and to avoid the ignominy of having broken a solemn bargain.

Upon this occasion, Mr. Sheridan added, that he should beg leave to submit to the feelings of the house, whether what they had seen that day ought not to convince them of the error into which they had fallen, of acting upon confidence? The minister had at length taught them, that to suspect him was their duty, and they saw that it was only by so doing, that they could faithfully discharge the trust reposed in them; for they saw that not being able to accomplish his design, but being detected, he now came forward apparently desirous to receive counsel, and to embrace instruction.

Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas having spoken,

Mr. Sheridan observed, that the right honorable gentleman had given him no answer; and added, that he questioned him about power; but, could get no reply which did not exclusively relate to patronage. He spoke about the constitution, and the right honorable and learned gentleman gave an answer concerning cotton. In short, he positively evaded the request that he would define his own power.

At length the question being put, the house divided; ayes (for bringing up the report) 182; noes 115.

MARCH 10.

REGIMENTS SENT AND DESTINED FOR THE EAST-INDIES.

Mr. SHERIDAN desired, that he might be permitted earnestly to call upon the house to meet with

jealous and with strict attention the circumstances under which the four new regiments were to be sent to India. In the course of the discussion lately brought forward on the propriety of that measure, it had been stated as the intention, and as part of the system of ministry, to increase the number of king's troops in India. Now he believed it to be a fact, which he should be able to prove, that orders were actually sent out to reduce the establishment of the five regiments already in India, at the very time that it was proposed to send out these four new regiments. Gentlemen might start at the assertion; but he believed the papers he was going to move for would justify what he advanced.

In August, 1787, the directors of the East-India Company had applied for leave to recruit the troops on their own establishment in India, which by law they could not do without His Majesty's permission. This leave had been withholden, from August to November, until the moment of alarm had arrived; when the directors, unable to recruit their own troops, in consequence of the delay, with that dispatch the emergency seemed to require, were prevailed upon to accept of these regiments. One reason assigned for withholding the permission to recruit the company's troops, was, because they would not consent to have their recruits inspected by one of His Majesty's general officers. If any person had advised His Majesty to insist on having the recruits so inspected; he had advised him to insist on what by law he was not entitled to enforce, even if the company had consented.

The five regiments now in India, when they embarked in March 1783, consisted of one thousand rank and file each, besides the recruiting companies which were left in England. There was no reason for saying that these companies were not fully adequate to the purpose of recruiting the regiments to which they belonged, and of keeping them up to the full establishment on which they had been

sent out; for they had already sent out seven hundred recruits. And yet, at the very moment of alarm, when the directors, under the idea of sudden emergency, agreed to accept of the four new regiments, orders had been sent out for reducing the five regiments in India to seven hundred privates each, without any reduction of the commissioned officers; and this too, when the minister was disputing with the company, that according to the act of 1781, they must pay two lacks of rupees for each regiment of king's troops in India; whilst the directors contended that they ought to pay only in proportion to the number of effective men in each. Mr. Sheridan now moved, that there be laid before the house,

“ A copy of the establishment of the several regiments of His Majesty's forces on their embarking for the East-Indies, in March 1783, with a copy of the orders given in August, 1787, for the reduction of the establishment of the said regiments.

“ Copies of the last returns of the four regiments destined for the East-Indies; together with copies of their recruiting orders.

“ A copy of the last application to His Majesty, for his royal licence to recruit the regiments abroad belonging to the East-India company; with the answer thereto.”

The papers were ordered.

MARCH 11.

**BILL TO ENABLE HIS MAJESTY TO LICENCE
THE PERFORMANCES AT SADLERS' WELLS.**

Mr. Ladbroke brought in this bill: the same was read a first time.

Mr. SHERIDAN remarked, that he had consented to the bill being read a first time, because it was really his wish, that the house should have an opportunity to consider the matter fairly, and to un-

derstand what was demanded from them. With regard to the petitions for the bill, and the allegations stated by them with respect to the large price paid for the purchase of their shares of the property of Sadlers' Wells, by Messrs. Wroughton and Arnold; if the house could, with any sort of consistency, do any thing to prevent their sustaining a loss, no man in that house would go farther than he would; he wished them to be dealt with as liberally and as handsomely as possible, because he was ready to admit, that the case of Sadlers' Wells stood upon very different grounds indeed from that of the Royalty Theatre, which had lately been before the house. *That* was a scheme set up upon false pretences, and supported by a conspiracy of justices of the peace, to defeat the law, which they were bound, by their oath, to execute. The present application came forward in a decent manner, and according to the practice he had ever wished to be pursued, when he knew more of what was going on with respect to the theatres than he did at present; having, long since, entrusted his interest in them to the management and care of others in whom he had reason to place confidence. Mr. Sheridan wished such an application to be liberally considered, and that the legal monopolists might not stand on their rights too strictly. He had ever been, and he trusted that he ever should be found, an enemy to any thing like oppression in any matter, great or small; and, on the present occasion, he confessed that the apprehensions of other people interested in the rights, supposed to be attacked by the bill in question, went beyond his own; but it was, however, to be remembered, that those apprehensions related to a property, upon which, taking the two winter theatres only, a sum little short of two hundred thousand pounds had been embarked. He felt it, therefore, his duty to endeavour to protect those rights according to their ideas of the injury they might sustain, and not according to any more indulgent way

of considering the subject, which he might himself have entertained. Mr. Sheridan then proceeded to argue on the nature of the present application. The proprietors of Sadlers' Wells had declared in their case, that the cause of their application for a bill to enable His Majesty to grant them a licence to continue the entertainments of Sadlers' Wells as heretofore, was, that "the proprietors of the winter theatres had lately instituted suits at law, not only against the last newly erected theatre, but intended to commence suits and prosecutions against all others indiscriminately." To his own personal knowledge (Mr. Sheridan said) that inference was wholly unfounded; and the proprietors of Sadlers' Wells knew it to be groundless;—there was no intention to proceed *against* them, or to molest them in any way whatsoever. In another instance also, the case of the proprietors of Sadlers' Wells was fallaciously stated. They told the house that they came there only to ask that they might be legally empowered to continue their performances as usual. That was not the fact; because what they asked for was a monopoly, as appeared clearly from a view and examination of the different parts of their case. There was some degree of unfairness also in their mode of reasoning against others, who stood in a similar predicament. Speaking for themselves, they said, "that doubts may arise, whether in strict construction of law, their performances might be, strictly and minutely, within the letter of their licence;" but when they spoke of the riding-schools, the Circus, and the new set of competitors, they stated them as performing in defiance of known laws, upon the authority of musical licences only; whereas their own licence contained not a letter of power more than the licences of their adversaries which they reprobated; the only difference being that the one was granted by the Surrey justices, and the other by those of Middlesex. From this it appeared, nay indeed they avowed it, that their ob-

ject was monopoly, and not licence ; and the house could grant them no relief according to their own statement, unless they put down all similar places, and shut their doors in future against all similar applications. Their claim to the preference might or might not be well founded ; but he could not but think that places of similar amusement under the Surrey licences, would afterwards come with a pretty strong case to parliament for an equal indulgence ; and that it would be an odd reason to give for refusing their requests, that the proprietors of Sadlers' Wells had the merit of transgressing the law first, and had therefore received a protection from the legislature, to which those who had only followed their example were entitled. This, however, was a matter for parliament to consider. If they chose to grant the preference, and to establish the monopoly which the present bill aimed at, and as a matter of regulation and policy to stop there, the proprietors of the winter theatres would have little to complain of ; for, he took it for granted, that certain alterations would be made in the bill, and that no part of the new powers would be suffered to entrench in the least on the rights of the winter patents, either as to season or the species of performances. Mr. Sheridan concluded with observing, that the winter theatres had a right to complain a little of those who had brought in the bill. The petition had been before the house nearly two months, and yet the bill had not been brought in till just at the last moment, close upon the commencement of the Sadlers' Wells season, in order that its near approach might be used as an argument, and in order that it might come into discussion at a time when the winter proprietors could not so well be heard against it by their counsel, if they should judge that measure necessary. He should on that account, notwithstanding the surprise that had been attempted on the house, move, "that the second reading of the bill be postponed to Friday, the 4th of April."

Mr. Ladbroke answered, that if the second reading was put off till Friday the 4th of April, some of his most profitable part of the Saddlers' Wells season would have elapsed before the bill could be decided upon; he therefore moved to insert the words "Tuesday next" in the motion, by way of amendment.

The house divided, ayes for the 4th of April 48; noes 39.

MUTINY BILL.

The order of the day, for going into a committee upon the mutiny bill, was read. Upon coming to the clause respecting the train of artillery, the surveyor of the ordnance, Captain Luttrell, moved several amendments, to bring the royal engineers, and the corps of artificers within the operation of the bill.

Mr. Sheridan renewed his arguments against putting the corps of artificers under martial law; contending, that if once the principle of convenience and expediency should be adopted as a justification of extending martial law, instead of the old and true principle of necessity, there was no saying to what an extent it might be pushed. If it were proper to put the corps of artificers under martial law, it might with equal, and even greater propriety, be argued, that the dockmen should be put under martial law. Mr. Sheridan reasoned upon the effects of such a measure; and said, that it might be proper at Gibraltar, in a garrison, or in a camp; but that there could not exist a reason for putting a corps of artificers under martial law at home. He shewed, that it was neither likely, on the one hand, to make them better workmen; nor, on the other, to improve them as soldiers; and he declared, he would take the sense of the committee upon the question of amendment.

The house divided, ayes (for the amendment) 48; noes (with Mr. Sheridan) 20.

MARCH 12.

MUTINY BILL.

Mr. Steele brought up the report of the committee on the mutiny bill; and on the reading the clause for incorporating the newly-raised corps of military artificers,

Mr. SHERIDAN rose, and declared, he conceived the object of it to be so important, that he was determined to oppose such an innovation in every stage, and to take the sense of the house concerning its alarming tendency. Mr. Sheridan stated his objection to the adoption of the new principle of expediency and economy, (the more dangerous because the more plausible,) instead of the old principle of defence and actual necessity. The right honorable gentleman, he thought, did not seem to have a right feeling for the fundamental principles of the constitution. He had been too apt to lend himself to every project of his colleagues; and to think his office was merely that of furnishing defences of the measures of other men, clothed in fine language. The present measure had been brought forward upon the specious pretence of economy—a plan that ought ever to be cautiously admitted, when, under it, the greatest evils might be sustained. If the present measure should be adopted, it would be laying a ground for the most alarming and dangerous consequences. The army was increasing in every part of the globe, at the moment it should seem most unnecessary; and, at the moment when it was stated that the glory of Great Britain was in its utmost splendor, and its power unrivalled. In proportion as peace was declared to be secure, the country was called on to increase its expense.

The house divided; ayes 114; noes 67.

REPORT ON THE DECLARATORY EAST INDIA BILL.

Upon the recommencement of this bill, on the 10th, Mr. Pitt moved several clauses;—The first was to limit the number of forces; for the payment of which, the commissioners for the Board of Control were empowered to issue their orders to 8015 men of His Majesty's troops; and 12,200 of the European forces in the company's service.—The second was, to prevent their exceeding the established salary of every officer in the service of the company, unless such increase should be proposed by the directors, and laid

before both houses of parliament.—The third was, to prevent the commissioners from ordering the payment of any extraordinary allowance to any person on account of services performed in India; except, as is excepted in the preceding clause.—The fourth and last was, to oblige the directors to lay annually before parliament, an account of the produce of all their revenues, and of their disbursements. These clauses were agreed to without debate.

On the 12th the house proceeded to reconsider the report of the bill. After many members had spoken,

Mr. SHERIDAN declared himself surprised, that the noble lord, (Mulgrave) though one of the Board of Control, had not said one word on the subject, which concerned that Board more immediately; but had confined himself merely to abusing his right honorable friend's (Mr. Fox's) bill. The noble lord had turned a deaf ear to the earnest appeal of his right honorable colleague (Mr. Dundas;) and though twice called to by the Speaker, in the course of a former debate, had chosen to remain silent, till his right honorable friend had been called upon to say a few words in reply to an attack on his bill, founded in misrepresentation. The noble lord had then observed, as it were to himself, "this is the fit time for me to speak; now I'll rise and take my share of the debate." The noble lord had accordingly risen; and after having advanced what he thought proper, by way of aggravating and inflaming the false colouring put upon his right honorable friend's bill, he sat down; declaring there were other matters of which he meant to have taken notice, but that they were as well let alone;—meaning, undoubtedly, the conduct of the Board of Control; the members of which collected themselves together in such a state of perfect harmony! Mr. Sheridan declared, no man had more personal respect for the noble lord than himself, as the noble lord well knew; but he could not help remarking so singular a circumstance as that which he had noticed. Having, therefore done with that, he would proceed to say a word or two upon some

matters that had dropped from the two honorable and learned gentlemen, (Mr. Adams and Mr. Scott) who had taken part in the debate, relative to the administration of Lord North. One of them, (Mr. Scott) the honorable and learned gentleman who spoke latest in the debate, after an explanatory word or two had said, "but that administration is no more, and *de mortuis nit nisi bonum*." The other honorable and learned gentleman had forgotten the proverb; and so far from speaking nothing but good of the dead, had profusely poured forth his gratitude to his right honorable friend, for having been the persevering and successful instrument of extirpating that administration. The house would please to observe, the word extirpate, which the honorable and learned gentleman had chosen to use so emphatically, was a word, that, in two languages, bore two interpretations, very opposite to each other in their import. They had lately been told, the house would recollect, in Persian, to extirpate, signified "to change from one situation to a better." Whether that was the sense in which the honorable and learned gentleman meant to use it, he knew not; but certainly, though several persons, formerly connected with Lord North, and in office under him, had possessed situations of high rank, great power, great patronage, and great emolument; they were now changed into better situations, and were in places of higher rank, greater power, larger and more extensive patronage, and infinitely greater emolument. It was evident, therefore, that the *de mortuis* did not apply; all the members of Lord North's administration not being dead, but many of them, as the house saw, alive and merry at that moment. Mr. Sheridan next proceeded to remark, that an honorable and learned gentleman had thought proper to call Lord North's a weak—a servile, and a corrupt administration; a charge which an honorable and learned friend of his had

repelled with equal eloquence and ability. Whatever there had been of servility and corruptness in Lord North's administration, the honorable and learned gentleman, over the way, might best learn by enquiring of those about him. Evident it must be, no part of those base passions was imputable to such friends of Lord North, as sat on the side of the house on which he stood. They had been put to the severest test; and to their eternal honor, they had evinced their steadiness, and truth, in the hour of the severest trial! When the ends of servility and corruption were impossible to be answered, they had most manifested their affection to Lord North's person; and their consciousness that whatever there might be of servility and corruption among his adherents, he was himself a stranger to the existence of either; and instead of meanly deserting his party, when he was unfortunately least capable of appearing as its leader; their attachment, so far from diminishing, strengthened with his infirmities, and grew with his decay. Had it been possible (but he knew he was putting an impossible case) for those friends of Lord North to have remained silent, when he was attacked so illiberally and unfairly as he had been that day, not only when he was absent, but when the very cause of that absence would have operated on the mind of every man who made the slightest pretensions to either taste or feeling, to have made him abstain from any thing which wore the appearance even, of severity of animadversion on the conduct of a minister, who, it ought to be remembered, had never denied his responsibility, nor desired to shun enquiry. Those who thought proper to act so unwarrantably, might rest assured, that there were enough of those whom the noble lord had connected himself with, who would stand up in his defence, and shield his character from those unjust aspersions which were so extremely illiberal. Mr. Sheridan replied to the remark of Mr. Hardinge, upon his

[illegible]

charter of the Company expired, if it should not be deemed proper or advisable to renew it for a fresh term of years, the then novel situation of the company would necessarily prove a circumstance to be discussed in that house, and a circumstance for parliament to act upon. It was, therefore, highly improper to anticipate any one of the questions then to be brought into agitation. Besides, as far as he could collect the wording of the clause, as the honorable gentleman had read it, notwithstanding his reflections on the inaccuracy of bills and clauses proposed by him, and those on his side of the house, it appeared to be imperfectly drawn. (Mr. Sheridan expressing some surprise at this) The Chancellor of the Exchequer asked, if the necessary negative words "and no longer," were inserted in it. Upon the whole, he considered the clause as useless, and rather calculated to convey an insinuation on the whole bill, than to answer any fit or necessary purpose.

Mr. Sheridan answered, that it was, undoubtedly, peculiarly becoming the other side of the house to stand upon verbal precision, when they themselves were so remarkably inattentive to that particular. The words "and no longer," were, it was true, omitted in the clause, as he supposed, through the mere error of the engrossing clerk;—the error was easily set right. But, from the whole of the right honorable gentleman's speech, it was clear that he was utterly ignorant of every part and principle of his own bill:—an ignorance which he had manifested all through the proceeding. The Board of Control had already extended their interference to the commercial concerns of the company. In illustration of the Nabob of Arcot, with which, through a false and forced construction of a treaty, the Board of Control had interfered, and unjustly arranged them. Another illegal interference was in the affair of the claim made upon the company by government, on account of the two lacks per regiment. The Court of Directors had desired time to inquire whether they stood indebted to government or not. They had laid the case before their counsel, and his answer had been, that the demand was illegal. They then said, that they would write to their servants in India, and get an exact account of the subject matter of that claim. They prepared the dispatches accordingly, and sent

them to the Board of Control. The right honorable gentleman then went, in his capacity of first in the commission, and there altered the company's dispatches; making the directors mistake their own accounts, and put them into such a form as must defeat the object of their inquiry in India.

After further conversation the question was put on the motion, "That the clause be brought up," and it passed in the negative.

The Speaker next put the question "That the bill do now pass."

Mr. Fox now adverted to the questions that had, in the course of the debates, been so often stated relative to the interference of the Board of Control in the commercial concerns of the company, and which he said, had never received any other reply, than such as was an insult and a mockery to common sense. If the right honorable gentleman did not chuse to give any intelligible answer, the house would form its own conclusion on his silence.

Mr. Dundas admitted, that the Board of Control had no legal authority whatever to interfere in any manner in the commercial concerns of the company; and he was equally ready to admit that the Court of Directors had no legal authority whatever to send out dispatches to India through the medium of their secret committee. Having made both these admissions, he acknowledged, that the Court of Directors, wishing to take the cotton trade on the coast of Bombay into the company's own hands, in order to supply their China trade from Bengal; and knowing that the success of their design depended on secrecy, and that if they sent their dispatches from the secret committee, taking upon themselves, at the same time, the responsibility of the measure, which they were aware was illegal. Under these circumstances, the dispatch came to the Board of Control, signed by the chairman and Mr. Manship, a gentleman certainly not extremely friendly to the board; and the board became, if the house chose so to phrase it, blind instruments in the hands of the Court of Directors, and subscribed their signatures to the dispatch. This was the whole of that transaction. The Board of Control neither suggested the measure, nor took any other part in the affair than he had stated.

Mr. Fox answered, that from what the right honorable gentleman had stated, the Board of Control, it was evident, had acted illegally; because, if they had not lent their authority in the case in question, the dispatches could not have been sent to India, through the unlawful medium of the secret committee. Mr. Fox took occasion, in the course of his speech, to observe, that the omission of the words "and no longer," really proved, upon inquiry, to have been a mere clerical error, as the words were in his honorable friend's manuscript, which he was ready to produce.

Mr. Sheridan denied that the right honorable

gentleman opposite him had given a true account of the transaction. The Board of Control had done more than the right honorable gentleman had described. They had not acted as blind instruments, but as beings perfectly possessed of sight, They had altered the dispatch, by omitting a sentence, (which Mr. Sheridan read.) Mr. Sheridan added, that, as all hope of defeating the bill was then over, he would not trouble the house any more than merely to take five minutes of their time in reading a statement of the different characters of the two India bills; a matter the more necessary, since, in the whole course of the debates, the bill of his right honorable friend appeared to have been much misunderstood. Mr. Sheridan here proceeded to read the paper at length. When he was about half through, he was interrupted by

Sir Robert Smyth, who desired to know the authority of the paper; and whether it was an extract from a pamphlet, or a more authentic document. If it were the latter, it might be laid on the table and printed for the use of the members.

The speaker declared that the honorable gentleman was perfectly in order to read the paper as part of his speech.

Mr. Sheridan said, he had before stated, that the paper was a description and comparison of Mr. Fox's India bill, and Mr. Pitt's India bill; drawn up carefully by himself; and extremely necessary for gentlemen to attend to, as it would give a perfect comprehension of each.

After Mr. Sheridan had gone through the paper, the question was put, "That the bill do pass," which was carried without a division.

APRIL 18.

CONDUCT OF THE ADMIRALTY, RELATIVE TO THE PROMOTION OF ADMIRALS.

By an order of council, dated in the year 1718, and addressed to the lords commissioners of the Board of Admiralty; they are di-

rected to proceed in the promotion of officers to the rank of admirals, in the navy, according to the seniority of such officers upon the list of captains, regard only had to their being duly qualified for the rank to which they shall be promoted. By a subsequent order of 1747, the lords of the Admiralty are authorised to superannuate such captains of long and meritorious service as shall be disabled from serving as admirals, by age or infirmity, under the title of admirals upon the superannuated list; or, as it is commonly called, the list of yellow admirals. In a promotion made by the Board of Admiralty, on the 15th of September, 1787, in which sixteen captains were promoted to the flag, upwards of forty captains had been passed over, the greater part of which had the offer made them, of being put upon the superannuated list; but conceiving themselves entitled from their past, and their capacity for future service, to the rank of acting admirals, they refused the retreat that was offered them; and had endeavored, but without success, to obtain their re-establishment from the Board of Admiralty. This partial promotion had occasioned a great and general disgust; and especially amongst the officers of the navy, who were alarmed to find, that the expectations of reward for the longest and most meritorious services, were to be dependent upon the caprice of the first lord of the Admiralty: and it was, therefore, thought a proper subject for parliamentary animadversion. Accordingly, on the 18th of April, Mr. Basset moved in the house of commons "That the house do resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to enquire into the conduct of the Board of Admiralty, touching the late promotion to the flag." As this motion went to a direct charge of ministerial misconduct against the first Lord of the Admiralty, and was free from the objection of interfering improperly on the functions of the executive government, it was necessary to meet it upon the distinct merits of the case. In support of the presumption of misconduct, Mr. Basset stated the cases of Captains Balfour, Thompson, Uredale, Sherley, Bray, and Lascey, and several others were mentioned in the course of the debate. With the view of obviating the unfavorable conclusion these cases seemed strongly to support, it was argued by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in defence of the Admiralty, that none of the circumstances alleged amounted to more than a negative proof that the officers in question, were not disqualified for the rank for which they contended; but that where a selection was to be made, (and that a selection was expedient would appear, not only from the uniform practice of the navy, but from the great expense and number inconveniences which would unavoidably result from an overloaded list of flag officers;) it was necessary that a discretionary power of making that selection, should be lodged in the commissioners of the Board of Admiralty. He admitted that they were responsible to parliament, in the use of that discretion; and that whenever a case was made out, strong enough to warrant a suspicion of such abuse as deserved censure or punishment, it was the undoubted duty of the house of commons to proceed to censure. But he denied that such a case

gentleman opposite him had given a true account of the transaction. The Board of Control had done more than the right honorable gentleman had described. They had not acted as blind instruments, but as beings perfectly possessed of sight, They had altered the dispatch, by omitting a sentence, (which Mr. Sheridan read.) Mr. Sheridan added, that, as all hope of defeating the bill was then over, he would not trouble the house any more than merely to take five minutes of their time in reading a statement of the different characters of the two India bills; a matter the more necessary, since, in the whole course of the debates, the bill of his right honorable friend appeared to have been much misunderstood. Mr. Sheridan here proceeded to read the paper at length. When he was about half through, he was interrupted by

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had been made out.—It had not been alleged that there was any officer of incompetent merit amongst those who were promoted, on whom a charge of partiality or corruption could be founded. It had not been asserted that the first lord was actuated by either malice, or any sinister motive, towards those who had been passed over, upon which he could be charged with injustice or oppression. The point to be decided by the house was, whether they could infer from the statement they had heard, that the judgment of the first lord upon professional merit was not to be trusted; but ought to be corrected by theirs. Such a case might undoubtedly occur; but he warned the house of the mischiefs that would inevitably arise from opening their doors, without the most palpable and urgent necessity, to the discussion of professional qualifications, and the accomplishment of military promotion.

Mr. Dundas contended against the motion, as it would, if carried, produce these two bad consequences:—First, that all future promotions must be by rotation and seniority; and next, that no first lord of the Admiralty would, in future, subject himself to such an inquiry as that now proposed; which, of necessity, would make him prefer a promotion by seniority to responsibility, and the certainty of disobliging. Mr. Dundas justified Lord Howe's conduct, by saying that no person had imputed a corrupt or sinister motive to the noble viscount; and it was natural for him, who was responsible for the officers he employed, to make those captains admirals, in whose hands he could trust his character with the greatest confidence.

Mr. SHERIDAN said, he should have declined rising, had he not heard from the argument of the right honorable and learned gentleman opposite to him, that no one captain had been promoted but such as the noble viscount could have a confidence in. That was (Mr. Sheridan said) the only consistent reason which had been given for the promotion. Mr. Sheridan went into a statement of the number of admirals on the list; and, after having mentioned the various different descriptions, declared, that when the promotion took place, there were twenty-four admirals, at least, as able in body and spirit as those last made. To what, then, was the last promotion to be ascribed? Was it done in a time of war? No; it was not; but on the mere rumour of a war. The right honorable gentleman had asked, “Would that house pretend to judge of the qualifications for admirals?” Thus the right ho-

norable gentleman always led them from the question. They would not pretend to judge of the qualifications for admirals; but one thing they surely judged of, and that was, whether the Admiralty acted, in their promotions to the flag, consistently with their own rules. The fact was, they had not done this. In the case of Captain Laforey, the right honorable the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that the First Lord of the Admiralty had laid it down as a rule, that officers, taking a civil employment during hostilities, abandoned their pretensions to military preferment. He admitted it was a good rule. Another rule was, that no person of bodily infirmity was entitled to promotion;—that was a good rule likewise. Again, any officer, who had not been at sea in the course of the preceding war, was not to be promoted to a flag; and this was a third good rule. But their rules and their conduct did not agree. Captain Laforey was set aside, and Sir Charles Middleton promoted, though both holding civil employments, taken by each *flagrante bello*. Sir John Lindsay—for it was necessary to speak out—though a most respectable officer, laboured under such bodily infirmity, that it was not likely he should go to sea again; whilst Captain Robinson, one of Lord Rodney's captains, who lost a leg in the action of the 12th of April, was suffered to limp away from the Admiralty without employ, though otherwise hearty, and as fit for service as ever. As there were twenty-four admirals on the old list fit for service, and no service very likely to be wanted soon, the late promotion could not be justified on the principle of state-necessity; and the moment this principle was abandoned, in came the principle of honorary rewards and emoluments; under which construction the late promotion fully merited the charge of being partial, capricious, and oppressive. Mr. Sheridan said, he liked the minister's argument of responsibility; but he feared it would not much

hurt them, as he observed it always came from themselves. Their responsibility was, to confess that they were responsible, but to stop all enquiry, and prevent the house from deriving any benefit from their responsibility. He differed a little from his right honorable friend, as to that house only having a power to interfere with the executive department, for the purpose of censure or punishment. He agreed with Lord Kaim, who had well observed, that there was nothing like abuse, or even suspicion of abuse, in the executive departments of government, of which that house could not take cognizance. That house had a right to interfere, whenever it thought necessary; and to go to the crown with wholesome admonition. The promotion, if not enquired into, would break the heart of the navy, and perhaps ruin the service.

*The question being put, the house divided; ayes 134; noes 154.**

MAY 5.

WAYS AND MEANS.

The order of the day for going into a committee to consider of the ways and means, being read, the house went into a committee, and various papers were referred to the same. Mr. Pitt opened the business, and in a long speech, argued "that we had the fairest ground for confidence; that we should not only enjoy ample funds for the liquidation of every expense, but also for carrying on the great purpose of the late arrangement—the extinction of the capital of our debt," &c.

Mr. SHERIDAN remarked, that, however invidi-

* The very inconsiderable majority by which the minister defeated the enquiry, encouraged Mr. Bastard to make another attempt. On the 29th of April he moved "That it is highly injurious to the service, and unjust, to set aside from promotion to flags, meritorious officers of approved service, who are not precluded by the orders of His Majesty in council." After a debate of several hours, the house divided on the previous motion; noes 220; ayes 169.

ous it might seem to start objections to so flattering a statement of the revenue, and increasing resources of the country, as had been just given by the right honorable gentleman; it was necessary to dispel the delusion under which this country had been acting for some time, and to detect the fallacies which were still attempted to be imposed on the public, and continue that delusion. The right honorable gentleman had entertained the house with an account of the sad state of the French finances; and he, for one, wished so well to that part of the right honorable gentleman's argument, that he hoped the French finances would always be found in as bad, or even a worse situation, whenever the right honorable gentleman should have occasion to draw such a comparison as he had now done. But how had they been reduced to that miserable state, in which they were represented to be? By doing that which we had done, and were continuing to do. The French had not faced their situation; and by endeavouring to impose on themselves, and to make it appear better than it really was, they had rendered it infinitely worse than it might have been.

Not, however, to dwell upon the situation of our rival, or to triumph, because it was worse than our own, the real question before the committee was, to consider, whether our receipt was equal to our expenditure. The annual expenditure for the peace establishment, as now stated by the right honorable gentleman, was to be in future 15,624,000*l*. This might, therefore, be considered as ground to argue from; since, however much it might exceed that sum, it could not reasonably be expected to fall short of it. In order to make up an income equal to this expenditure, by taking the receipts, not on an average of several years, but one year only, and making up the accounts from April, 1787, to April, 1788—instead of from January to January—a revenue was produced on paper of 15,792,000*l*. Mr.

they might in point of utility,) there would be wanted 300,000*l.* for the West Indies alone, and, in the whole, from 700,000*l.* to 800,000*l.* He objected, also, to the estimates for miscellaneous services; which, he contended, must exceed 74,224*l.*, the sum for which it was made out.

He came next to consider the shifts to which (he observed) the right honorable gentleman had resorted, in order to defray the extraordinary expenses of the year. Five hundred thousand pounds were to come from the East India Company. They were to pay 300,000*l.* last year; and he had then objected to the right honorable gentleman's taking credit for a sum which the company had not acknowledged to be due. No part of that sum had been paid into the exchequer; and, because the payment had been, and was still, disputed by the company, credit was again taken for a much larger sum; which he firmly believed would no more be paid than the former. The company had denied that they owed any such sum to government; they had drawn up a case for the consideration of counsel; and if the facts were as they were stated to be, he had no scruple in saying, that the claim of government was not well founded.

The right honorable gentleman amused the committee with fine stories of the increase of our trade and shipping, and the flourishing state of our fisheries; but, instead of entering into any exemplification of what he had advanced on that subject—the truth of which he wished as much to rely on as any man—he begged leave to call the attention of the committee to the commutation act; which (he contended) had failed in every circumstance for which those who supported it stood pledged to the public. Instead of the supply of tea, which the company were bound to import by that act, to answer the increased demand—to have a year's stock on hand and to keep the prices as low as by the commutation they ought to do—they had not imported a

the committee) were unanimous in favour of the objects stated by the honorable gentleman who made the motion. When the petition came away, there was not one dissenting voice. The fact was, that before a false alarm had gone abroad, some persons had been panic-struck, thinking that English laws were to be introduced generally, universally, and without any exception; upon that the counter-petitions had been drawn, signed, and presented to Lord Dorchester. But the cause of alarm had since been explained, and the inhabitants of all descriptions had recovered from their panic. With regard to the change of the habitancy of the province, and the increase of English Protestant loyalists that it contained; he was amazed the right honorable gentleman had not seen that such allegation was the very argument against him. Two years ago, the right honorable gentleman had said when the subject was then agitated, "be patient—Sir Guy Carleton is gone out for information; when he returns, the subject shall be submitted to full discussion." The honorable gentleman has received from Sir Guy Carleton, (at present Lord Dorchester) all the information he could receive, and therefore he ought no longer to delay the consideration of the question. Mr. Sheridan declared that he had good authority for asserting that Lord Dorchester had not given the right honorable gentleman reason to expect farther information from him, nor had he any reason to expect farther information from him, or from any other quarter.

Mr. Pitt begged to contradict Mr. Sheridan's assertions—"He not only had reason to expect, but he actually did anticipate much farther information, through the medium of Lord Dorchester."

Mr. Sheridan said, will the right honorable gentleman produce Lord Dorchester's dispatches to prove the fact? I dare him to the proof.

Mr. Pitt declared that he would oppose the production of any such proof. The honorable gentleman had introduced a new species of argument in that house. If that mode of argument prevailed, it

would only be for a confident man to come forward boldly, and make a direct assertion ; and on receiving a flat and peremptory denial, to challenge the production of private papers as the test of the faith in dispute.

Mr. Sheridan said, a moment's reflection had served to convince him, that the right honorable gentleman did not mean to use the word *confident* in the sense in which it at first struck him that he did, because he was satisfied the sort of confidence the right honorable gentleman approved was a confidence in fine promises and professions, where no reason was assigned nor any performance ever intended ; and not a confidence in matter of fact, capable of proof, and desirous of meeting it. Mr. Sheridan contended that nothing could be more fair, after he had asserted as a fact, that which he had good authority to believe to be founded, and it had been denied by the right honorable gentleman to be a fact, than for him to call upon the right honorable gentleman to produce those parts of Lord Dorchester's dispatches, in which the noble lord gave the right honorable gentleman reason to expect that he should have further information to send him on the subject of the sort of government best adapted to the province of Canada. He was persuaded that Lord Dorchester had signified no such expectation ; and he should still maintain his opinion, unless the right honorable gentleman would consent to bring proof to the contrary before the house. Mr. Sheridan added, that it peculiarly became a person of such notorious modesty and diffidence as the right honorable gentleman, to charge him with being confident and presumptuous, in daring to adhere to his assertion relative to a matter of fact, which the right honorable gentleman was not able to disprove.

The house divided on the question, " that the chairman leave the chair." Ayes 104 ; noes 39.

MAY 20.

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST MR. HASTINGS.

* On the 21st of December, 1787, Mr. Burke observed to the house, that it would be necessary, before the sessions ended, that the house should take some step for binding Mr. Hastings to be forthcoming to answer the articles of impeachment which had been preferred against him. He therefore moved, "That Warren Hastings, Esq. be taken into the custody of the Serjeant-at-arms of that house." This motion was opposed by Mr. Nicholls, who stated, that upon referring to the journals in search of precedents, he found there were three several modes of proceeding, which had been adopted by the house, after they had prescribed articles of impeachment. The first was, to take the party impeached into the custody of their own Serjeant-at-arms; the second was, to desire the lords to take him into custody; the third was, to desire the lords to put him to answer. He thought the last was the mode they should adopt, as it would be extremely cruel to brand Mr. Hastings with a stigma in the face of his country, by suggesting an idea, that the house had reason to suspect him of an undue design of attempting to elude justice. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Burke replied, that upon a minute examination of precedents, and a consultation of persons in another place, it had been found, that the most regular and orderly mode of proceeding would be for that house to take Mr. Hastings into custody by their serjeant, and to deliver him to the lords. The motion was immediately agreed to; and the house being soon after informed that he was in the custody of the serjeant, Mr. Burke was directed to acquaint the lords with the same; and that he was ready to be delivered up to the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod whenever their lordships thought proper. The message being delivered to the house, Lord Walsingham proposed Mr. Hastings should give 20,000*l.*—himself in 10,000*l.* and two sureties in 5,000*l.* each. He concluded by moving, that he should be forthwith taken into the custody of the black rod. This being done, Mr. Hastings was brought to the bar, and the different charges read. The Lord Chancellor then asked Mr. Hastings what he had to say in his defence. He answered—'My Lords, I rely upon the justice of this house, and pray that I may be granted a copy of the charges, with a reasonable time to make my defence; and also, that I may be allowed counsel, and admitted to bail.' These points being settled, Mr. Hastings was again called to the bar, and informed that one month was allowed him to make his answer to the charges.—On the 13th of February, 1788, the trial commenced in Westminster Hall. The counsel who appeared for the defendant were Messrs. Law, Plummer, and Dallas. The assistant counsel for the Commons, Dr. Scott and Dr. Lawrence, Messrs. Mansfield, Pigott, Burke, and Douglas.

* Abstract of proceedings continued from that under Dec. 11.

During the progress of the trial a motion was made in the house of commons by Mr. Burgess, on the 20th of May, 1788, for a particular account of the expenditure of the money advanced to Messrs. Wallis and Troward, solicitors for the prosecution against Warren Hastings, Esq. and of such other expenses and charges as have been incurred by the said solicitors on account of the said prosecution, to the 15th of May, 1788, inclusive, stating specially to whom, and on what account, such sums have been issued.

Mr. SHERIDAN observed that he felt some difficulty, stifling his surprise, that the honorable member should have thought the honorable gentleman's anxious desire to watch over and scrutinize the expenses of the prosecution of Mr. Hastings, matter of amazement, when it was considered how frequently the honorable gentleman attended to the expenditure of the public money, and how peculiarly watchful he was over the grants of large sums moved from time to time by the Treasury. Mr. Sheridan said, he considered the true motive of the honorable gentleman to be no other than this; he made his motion with a view to afford a ground for the appearance of idle paragraphs in the newspapers, insinuating that the managers were putting the public to an enormous and unnecessary expense; and by such means to create a wish in the public for the discontinuance of the trial. Mr. Sheridan stated, that the services already performed were ordered by the committee of managers, under the authority of that house; so that if the house chose, they might resolve that no counsel should, in future, be allowed the managers. If so, it would be necessary for them to move, that the Attorney and Solicitor-General, together with the Master of the Rolls, be added to the committee of managers. Or if the house thought proper, they might resolve, that the managers should pay the expenses of counsel themselves. In that case, he hoped the house would have the goodness to add Sir Sampson Gideon, and some others of the most wealthy members, to the committee. With regard to the charges incurred by fees to counsel, they were, considering the assistance afforded, extremely

low ; so much so, that he would venture to say no counsel employed in a great public prosecution had ever been paid worse. Mr. Sheridan read from the votes the resolution to pay above four thousand pounds for defraying the charges incurred by the prosecution carried on against Sir Thomas Rumbold. He said, he had no doubt but *that* charge had been fairly and justly made out ; but he had never heard, that the house had thought it necessary to institute a very minute enquiry into the various items of the account. In the present prosecution, the managers were responsible for ordering the services, but the manner in which those services were performed, was to be decided elsewhere ; and therefore, as that part of the business which was the only one the honorable gentleman could refer to, lay between the solicitors for the prosecution, and the lords of the Treasury, the honourable gentleman, (whom the house must be aware, had always been remarkable for the rigid strictness, and scrupulous attention with which he watched over all the Treasury accounts, certainly deserved the thanks of the house, for his acting up to his character on this particular occasion) instead of giving the newspapers a fresh subject for invidious references and unwarrantable insinuations, if the honorable gentleman meant any thing by his motion, he hoped, when the account should be produced, (to which he had not the smallest objection) the honorable gentleman would ground upon it another motion, that the counsel employed by the committee of managers should in future be better paid.

Mr. Sheridan afterwards read an extract from a letter written early from the committee of managers to the Treasury, in which the committee declared their readiness to resort to their advice as to the services they thought necessary for effectually carrying on the prosecution. Mr. Sheridan contended, that after having received such a letter from the

committee, it was a little hard that government should countenance such a motion as the present.

The house divided; ayes 60; noes 19. The managers all withdrew without dividing.

MAY 30.

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST MR. HASTINGS.

Mr. Fox observed that, as a particular account of the distribution of the sums expended, in consequence of the trial of Warren Hastings, Esquire, had been before the house during the space of some days, he wished to know when the honorable gentleman, who moved for the account, and said, he had doubts relative to a part of the general heads stated in that account, meant either to bring forward the said doubts, or declare whether they still left upon his mind the same impression.

Mr. Burgess answered, that in his humble opinion, he had sufficiently done his duty in calling for the papers. They were now before the house, and an opportunity was open to every gentleman to form his sentiments upon the subject. What his doubts were, he imagined, must suggest themselves to every gentleman who read the accounts; and, therefore, he left to persons, who had more weight and authority in that house than he had, to take the matter up; but if no other person should, and the house should call upon him to bring the subject forward, he was perfectly ready to obey their commands.

Mr. SHERIDAN observed, that the sort of way in which the matter had been treated, was a little extraordinary. The honorable gentleman, if his recollection did not greatly deceive him, had, on a former day, said, that he had his doubts upon one of the heads of the general account, but that he could not say whether those doubts were well founded or not; because he saw a more particular statement of the items of the accounts; that particular statement had now been presented some days, and the honorable gentleman had just declared, he still entertained his doubts, but that he left it to other gentlemen to promote the discussion. Mr. Sheridan added, that he wished the honorable gentleman would either act upon his doubts, or get some other gentleman to take his doubts up for him, and act upon them. From what had already passed in that house upon

the subject, the matter ought not to drop without a farther investigation.

Mr. Burgess answered, that if the house thought it was now more peculiarly his province to bring the subject forward, he had not the smallest objection to take the task upon him; and, in that case, he believed the proper way would be either to move "that the papers be referred to a committee of the whole house; or to give notice of a day on which he would state his sentiments upon their contents.

Mr. Pitt recommending the latter mode, Mr. Burgess gave notice for the ensuing Friday.

Mr. Pitt called upon Mr. Sheridan to know, when the honorable gentleman meant to bring forward his promised discussion of the operation and effect of the commutation act.

Mr. Sheridan answered, that from the right honorable gentleman's pressing so much to know when he would bring forward the discussion of the commutation act, he was persuaded that the right honorable gentleman entertained strong hopes, that he would not be able to introduce the investigation of it during the course of the present session. The right honorable gentleman, however, ought to recollect, that there were gentlemen in that house who had no inconsiderable share of important duty to discharge elsewhere. It was well known that he had been employed for some time past in managing the prosecution of a charge of *some* magnitude in Westminster-Hall. It was not very fair, therefore, pending such a business, to call upon him to say, when he would bring forward the discussion of a very different subject in that house. This, he would assure the right honorable gentleman, that as soon as had summed up the charge he had been superintending, he would, if the house was likely to sit long enough, give notice the very next day, that at the distance of two or three days only, he would resume the discussion of the effects of the commutation act.

Mr. Pitt declared himself perfectly satisfied.

of Rajputana the powerful kingdoms of Gujrat and Malwa were constantly at war with each other or with Chittor. Their boundaries, though fairly well defined by geography, were never quite steady. Both these Muslim kingdoms had become independent towards the end of the 14th century. In the middle of the 15th century Mahmud Khalji of Malwa greatly extended his dominions and in 1440, marched upon Dihli itself, but was repulsed by Bahlol. At a later period, the possessions of Malwa extended as far as Kalpi in the north, which remained for two generations a bone of contention between it and Jaunpur. Eventually in 1531 Malwa was absorbed by Gujrat. After this it rapidly changed hands until its conquest by Akbar in 1561, from Baz Bahadur, son of Shuja'at Khan, who was governor of that province under Sher Shah.

The rulers of Gujrat were abler and more powerful than those of Malwa. They made extensive conquests and imposed their suzerainty over many neighbouring territories. At one time their sway extended from Mandu and Dhar to the peninsula of Kathiawar, and from Chittor to *Diu*. The kings of Khandesh and the *Rais* of Junagarh and Girnar were tributaries to them. The zenith of Gujrat's ascendancy was reached when in 1531 Malwa was annexed to it. But this unprecedented glory was very short-lived, and within a few years decline and decay set in. The successors of Bahadur Shah III (1526-'36) were weaklings under whom the kingdom fell rapidly into a state of chaos, and became the prey of rival factions until its annexation by Akbar in 1573.

The kingdom of Orissa which, after its conquest by Raja Man Singh in 1592, was joined to Bengal, was a part of the ancient kingdom of Kalinga. On its north-east was Bengal and on the south-west the kingdom of Golconda. On the western side it was bounded by the table-land of Chhota-Nagpur and Gondwana which stretched right into Central India.

The Extent of Babar's Kingdom.—The dominions of

the furthest points of his conquests in that direction. The southern part of Bihar and the country beyond remained independent in the hands of Afghan and Hindu chieftains.

After Babar Malwa and Gujrat were conquered by the languid and dilatory Humayun in 1535, only to lose them again within a few months.

Political Divisions under Babar and Humayun.—Concerning the political divisions of the kingdom under Babar and Humayun we have no definite information. From the memoirs we learn that there were thirty sarkars and zamindaris (i.e. the territories of the tributary chiefs) under him extending from Jehlum to Bihar. Babar had neither time nor enough acquaintance with the institutions of his new kingdom to be able to make any alterations or improvements in the system of government.

It is a very common, though thoroughly irrational and unscientific practice among students of Indian history to try to compare Babar with Sher Shah as an administrator. But it is not realised by these scholars that such a comparison is as irrelevant as it is unfair. Sher Shah was ten years' senior in age to Babar and moreover being an Indian and had all his life been a witness to the ins and outs of its administrative system and its politics. Babar on the other hand was a foreigner, having no acquaintance with the institutions of this land. It is therefore quite unfair to compare the two as administrators.

Humayun wasted all opportunity of constructive work by his own imprudent methods of dealing with the complicated situation with which he was faced. Therefore it may be presumed that the political organisation of their predecessors was kept up unaltered by the first two Mughal rulers. Babar puts his whole dominions under two categories: the crown territories or regular sarkars, and the territories or states of those chiefs, or Rais and zamindars, who had acknowledged his overlordship. These zamindaris comprised about one-fifth of the whole kingdom. Out of the

total revenue amounting to 52 crores¹, parganahs to the value of about eight or nine crores were in the possession of the Rajas and Rais who were left in enjoyment of internal autonomy provided they paid regular tribute and remained loyal. The crown territories were assigned to his followers whose obligation was to carry on the administration with the assistance of old government functionaries, to realise revenues and transmit them to the central treasury and to maintain a force according to their respective status, to come to help the sovereign whenever called upon. These assignments were, however, not hereditary. The assignees were frequently transferred. There was another class of assignments known as *Suyurghal* (later also called *Madad-i-ma'ash*) which were conferred for religious, charitable and educational purposes by way of maintenance upon individuals as well as institutions. These were free from all obligations of either payment or military service. But if found to be abused they could be withdrawn.

Revenue—The revenues of Babar and Humayun were mainly derived from land-tax. But there were some other sources of income also. A customs duty was levied on the frontier, on all imports from outside. This was called *tamgha* (stamp) because a stamp was put on cattle or goods on which duty had been paid. There were also transit duties on merchandise transported from one part of the country to another. A fourth tax was levied on shop-keepers, especially in towns. Lastly the *Jeziyah* was imposed on non-muslims in those territories where the King's control was firmly established.

Communications—An important and useful measure of Babar was the organisation of regular road and postal communications. He was the first ruler to order all his marches,

¹ Neither the actual coins referred to here nor their value can be estimated with certainty. Erskine has calculated that the 52 crores of Babar's revenue was equal to £4,212,000. But the current coins in the time of Babar were the *Tanka* and *Dam*.

including ordinary journeys and excursions, to be regularly measured, an operation which must have tended to improve the geography and roads of a country then very imperfectly surveyed. He also established a series of post-houses from Agra to Kabul, at intervals of about fifteen miles, and stationed relays of six horses and proper officers at each.¹

It need scarcely be mentioned that the army of Babar consisted mainly of cavalry recruited from among the Turks, Mughals, and later on, Hazaras of the Afghan country. They were recruited by the military leaders who attached themselves to the king from various considerations of family or gratitude or hope of gain and fortune. Every leader had his standard which indicated his rank, the highest standard being called *tugh*. This was surmounted by the flowing tail of the mountain cow, an object of great ambition and granted only to a few. Besides these some Indian chiefs had gone over to Babar's side when he very cleverly declared himself Ghazi and his war against Rana Sanga, a jihad against an infidel.

But Babar's artillery was the most important and unique constituent of his army and was of immense use to him in his wars against the Indian chiefs who possessed nothing like it.

Justice under Babar must have fallen more or less completely into the hands of local bodies, (the village panchayats), during the confusion following the decline of the Surs. But it may be presumed that cases of importance would have been taken to the governor or even the king for decision. In the restoration of peace and security of life and property, Babar showed great vigilance and severity. In the Punjab the Jat and Gujar freebooters of the hills had become a terror. They infested the country, plundered and killed the

¹Ferishta (Briggs, II. pp. 66 67) mentions that Babar changed the Sikandari Gaz, and that the Babari Gaz continued in use till the beginning of Jehangir's reign. This seems to be a mistake as the Sikandari Gaz continued down to Akbar's time when it was standardised like other measurements.

people. Babar caught many of them and cut them to pieces to make an example for others. This had a quieting effect on the miscreants. Similarly he dealt with Mohan Mundahir, who had looted and burnt the property of the Qazi of Samana most ruthlessly. Thousands of Mundahirs were slaughtered and their colony utterly devastated so that it never rose again.

Public Works—Babar was a great lover of building pleasancess, such as gardens, baths, tanks, wells and fountains. He also erected a number of mosques. In Agra alone 680 masons and craftsmen were employed on his buildings, and in Sikri, Dholpur, Biana, Koel and Gwalior, 1491 stonecutters. Very few of his buildings have, however, survived.

Character of Babar's Government—We have noticed above that Babar and Humayun had no option but to adopt and continue the mechanism of government which they found in the land. Moreover the policy of the Lodi Sultans had not left any healthy traditions or precedents. On the other hand Babar, both by training and culture as well as by his native genius, was a most enlightened and liberal prince. The whole of his life is one long evidence of the fact that he was actuated, and consciously actuated, by considerations of personal ambition rather than by religious motives. Of course he was not above making the fullest capital out of a show of religious bigotry whenever it suited him and served his end, just as he did by assuming the roll of *Ghazi* and by declaring it as a holy war when he had to fight against Rana Sanga. The same motive could make him abjure the Sunni faith and don the Shia Qizilbash cap without any qualms of conscience. On the other hand he refused to persecute the Sunnis at the command of the Shia ruler of Persia whom he had for political reasons accepted as his suzerain. His erecting a tower of the heads of Hindus (pagans) and kindred professions and actions, during his wars with Hindu chiefs were obviously measures born of diplomacy. By no stretch of imagination they can be ascribed to religious fanaticism. No one can accuse him of religious narrow-mindedness if he repaired

and restored those mosques at Chandèri, Ranthambhor, Raisin and Sarangpur, which had been converted into cattle-sheds by Medni Rai's orders. Rather it is amazing that the insult which had been inflicted upon the mosques did not inflame Babar to take revenge upon the Hindus by demolishing their temples. We hear of no such act of violence or reprisal. It is not at all difficult to appreciate that by contenting himself simply with repairing the defiled mosques, and doing no injury to the sacred places of the Hindus Babar exhibited a most remarkable and praiseworthy generosity of mind, altogether rare in that age. In normal times we have no evidence of any acts of intolerance or persecution. Hence the Bhopal document¹ which is supposed to contain the text of the last will of Babar in which the dying emperor exhorts his son to keep his mind free from religious prejudices and to treat all his subjects justly, and not to kill the cows, etc. etc., does not seem to exaggerate the spirit of Babar even though its authenticity may be seriously doubted by some scholars. A few sporadic and scattered instances of temple destruction by his officers who could not be expected to possess his cultured and liberal outlook, cannot be set down as proofs of Babar's bigotry².

Thus it would seem undeniable that although the old machinery of government had to be retained a definite attempt was made by the Turkish conqueror to infuse into it a new spirit and to initiate fresh traditions and a progressive and broad-minded policy.

Character of the new Sovereignty.—This fundamental change in the policy and religious attitude of the monarchs took place side by side with another change which was even more profound and significant. This was manifested by

¹ Vide Indian Review, August 1923, and Twentieth Century, January 1936, pp. 339—'44.

² Such instances of temple destruction by Babar's officers as are reproduced by Prof. S. R. Sharma, in his 'Religious Policies of the Mughals', are based on later and not contemporary authorities.

the revolution which came about in the conception of sovereignty within a quarter century. The Turkish Sultans never succeeded in establishing even by convention a fixed law of succession. In the early stages, there was a perpetual tug of war between the principle of election by the tribal aristocracy and the principle of hereditary succession and the latter tended to become gradually stronger. But still the sovereignty was not supposed to be the exclusive or indefeasible right of any one family or dynasty. It was still the prey of the strongest sword, whoever might wield it. But under the Lodis the basis of monarchy became the weakest and most shaky, resting as it did on the Afghan custom of the kingdom being considered as tribal property and the king being only the leader or the headman, as it were, in a community of equals. The monarchy of the Lodis has been rightly described by Rushbrooke Williams as a 'human compromise and not a divine inheritance, with the result that the power and prestige of the monarch were alike diminished.' It was a hegemony wielded by the leading chiefs of the tribe, who were all equals in power, if not in prestige and influence. They could never concede to the Sultan a supreme and indisputable position. Indeed the secret of Bahlol Lodi's success in maintaining himself was his full and frank recognition of the claim to equality of the tribal leaders on whose support he had to rely. Herein lay the essential weakness of the Lodi Monarchy. Sikandar Lodi showed some strength but had to bow to the time-honoured traditions of his community. Ibrahim tactlessly defied this cherished tradition and found himself in deep waters.

Under such a system the hold of the centre on the provincial and local administrators was bound to be very lax. It was limited only to the right to demand a certain quota of men in times of war. For the rest they were, more or less, miniature kings, within their respective jurisdictions and were apt to reckon their jagirs as hereditary whenever the central authority became too weak to enforce its will upon them. The central executive was thus completely paralysed; the elements of cohesion

which kept the local administrators bound to the sovereign were rendered entirely nugatory. Besides the levy of armed men they could perhaps also demand a money contribution. But they had to be on their guard against offending the tribal magnates whose support was essential for their very existence. The administrative mechanism constructed by the Khaljis and Tughlaqs had crumbled to ruins never to be revived until the advent of Sher Shah. It appears, however, that the masses of the people remained, on the whole, unperturbed and unconcerned despite the political convulsions and consequent chaos prevailing for more than a century and a half. The Muslim rulers had wisely left the ancient local institutions of the country uninterfered with.

The above-mentioned conception of monarchy had to yield to the altered political conditions and to undergo a radical transformation. The Timurid tradition had established the principle that monarchy was a divine delegation and therefore unquestionable and sacred. The sovereignty thus became the monopoly of a single dynasty in definite contrast with the sovereignty of the Sultanate which was not sheltered from being claimed by any and every body by any such restriction. The Mughal sovereignty conferred upon the ruler a position of absolute and unquestionable authority which, excepting the members of the royal family, no one else could claim. According to this principle the person of the monarch was sacrosanct, hampered by no limitations like the Lodi monarchy and placed by Divine right on a position of such towering eminence that even the highest chiefs and amirs could never presume or venture to aspire to it. It may, however, be noticed in passing that the process of defining and stabilising the principle of sovereignty had not yet attained full maturity. No definite principle such as the law of primogeniture ever came to be recognised even among the Mughals. This was the cause of the disastrous wars of succession among the sons of the dying or the deceased king on every such occasion. However that may be, for the acceptance of such an indisputable monarchy a radical

change in the popular mind was needed. Babar had conquered Hindustan. That was comparatively easy. But now he was confronted with the more difficult problem of making the chiefs and nobles reconcile themselves to the new ideal of sovereignty under which their privileges and status were alike to be degraded to a far inferior level. They were now to be unquestioning and obedient servants of an absolute sovereign and not his peers. It was no easy task to achieve such a revolution in the politics of the country. A great effort, an overhauling of the entire ramshackle mechanism of the Afghan government which was altogether unsuited and far too inadequate to achieve the above ideal, was required. Far greater than even this was the need of bringing about a change in the psychology of the people, as has been already pointed out.

Two fundamental points needed to be attacked primarily. The Afghan chiefs claimed a share both in the territories as well as the powers and authority of the sovereign reducing their polity to a sort of joint stock company of the tribe. In consequence of which whenever any new territory was acquired the Sultan had to invite the members of the tribe to receive their respective shares thereof. The rebellious propensities of the provincial chiefs were encouraged by the rickety and outworn structure of the government. Thus the task of the future ruler was twofold. He had to pull down what might be called an organised anarchy, somewhat resembling that of the Rajputs, minus its virtues and strong points, and to replace it by a centralised and compact monarchy by concentrating the elements of power and making the sovereign the source of all authority. It was necessary for him to wipe out the age-long superstition jealously cherished by the Afghans that the kingdom was communal property, and that every member of the community could claim in it a share as a matter of indefeasible title. In order to assert and vindicate the new ideal of monarchy it was further necessary for the future sovereign to make the chiefs and amirs forget their erstwhile notions of equality with the Sultan, and to acquiesce in a position of unquestioning obedience.

Next it was necessary, with a view to achieving the above object, to reorganise and consolidate the administrative machinery. A renovated and rejuvenated system of government was needed not only to ensure good government but also to curb the recalcitrant propensities of the chiefs and amirs, and to make them settle down peacefully to their altered situation.

Now such a radical change in the political atmosphere of the country and in the minds of men who were being robbed of their power, prestige and privileges which they had long enjoyed, was not easy to effect. It could be brought about only by a gradual process of evolution, a process which was greatly accelerated by the extra-ordinary energy of Sher Shah and Akbar. There were two main fruits of this period of transition which commenced with the advent of Babar : (1) A new monarchy, and (2) a reformed administrative machinery. In bringing about this consummation the contribution of Babar and Humayun was but little, while that of Sher Shah was very considerable, though only indirect and one-sided because although by strengthening the position of the king, he created the necessary conditions for the Turkish ideal of monarchy to thrive, he himself adhered to the purely Afghan tradition of treating the kingdom as a tribal property and of sharing its fruits with the members of the Sur tribe. His son Islam Shah, on the other hand, made an earnest effort to resume the jagirs and convert all lands into crown lands, and moreover adopted very strong and bold measures to shatter the arrogance and prestige of the amirs and to establish the supremacy of the king. Thus by their strong policy, centralised power and efficient administration under which even the most powerful chief was forced to submit to the king's authority, and no dereliction or neglect of duty was allowed to escape unpunished, Sher Shah and Islam Shah prepared the ground for the gradual acceptance of the new principle of monarchy. The restoration of strict order and discipline among the highest functionaries of the State and the establishment of a vigorous and efficient system of government was the proud achievement of the first two Sur

kings. And paradoxical as it may appear, not Babar and Humayun, the founders of the Mughal Empire, but their enemies the Suri kings, were destined to be the builders of that substructure on which the superstructure of Mughal administrative machinery was subsequently raised by Akbar.

It was, however, reserved for a subsequent generation to witness the gradual and almost imperceptible transformation in the political psychology of the people. The transitional period from the advent of Babar to the accession of Akbar was too stormy and unsettled and too anti-authoritarian for such a seed to thrive. It needed not only the congenial soil of a well-organised system of government, but also the watering of a well-established and enduring security and peace-conditions: and this it was the unique merit of Akbar to bring about. Moreover he was—what the Surs could never be—the embodiment of that divinely gifted monarchy which the sanctified tradition of his house had bequeathed to him. From the Turkish and Persian chiefs and amirs and from Hindu vassals, he had no serious trouble. But wherever an Afghan chief had survived, e.g., in Bengal and Gujarat, he never, till the end, gave up his struggle for independence. As time passed the unquestionable and indeed sacred authority of the Mughal emperor went deeper and deeper into men's minds and old memories vanished. Akbar's task was that of the master-architect. He reared up an edifice at once scientifically elaborate and stable and artistically beautiful and human. His successors enjoyed the fruits of his labours.

They had not the genius to improve upon it. Akbar stands like a tower of eminence in the midst of pigmies on both sides.

II—The Administrative System of the Surs.

Sher Shah's principles of Government.—As early as the time when Farid (the future Sher Shah) as a youngman was entrusted by his father Hasan Khan with full authority over the parganahs of Sahsaram, Hajipur and Khawaspur Tanda and was deputed to assume charge, he had said to

his father: 'I shall devote myself to increase the prosperity of the district; and that depends on a just administration.' These words in which the chronicler has reproduced what Sher Shah said at that time give a clear indication of Sher Shah's ideal of a king's obligations. And this ideal he consistently maintained throughout his life. Sher Shah very well understood the principle that the advancement of the state is synonymous with the progress and prosperity of the people.

Possessed of a keen faculty of observation, a sound common-sense and statesmanlike outlook Sher Shah adopted from the outset very sound and practical principles as the basis of his administration. First and foremost it was necessary to restore peace and tranquillity in the land, without which no progress was possible. The anarchical atmosphere of the later Lodhi regime had bred a spirit of insurgence and unrestrained ambition all over. Every provincial chief aspired to capture the crown. Moreover the weakness of the centre had encouraged the local functionaries of the government to become oppressive on the people, and extortionate in realising revenue from the peasants. Sher Shah had been from his youth painfully conscious of this state of affairs and as he told his father at the time of his appointment to his jagir, he meant business. He would not, he said, brook any insubordination nor allow the chiefs and zamindars to tyrannise over the peasants. The situation called for strong and even ruthless measures and Sher Shah found that this was the only way of restoring order and discipline, security and peace. His first principle was therefore to inflict the severest punishments on disturbers of peace and all other miscreants so as to terrify them into submission and set an example to others. By this device he succeeded in restoring order and peace and clearing the country of all robbers and thieves in no time.

His second principle was to create confidence in and respect for the ruler in the minds of the subjects by an efficient, just and progressive administration calculated to

make them happy and prosperous. Once peace and security were established Sher Shah changed from a ruthless chastiser to a benevolent despot whose whole energy and efforts were devoted for the good of the people.

Thirdly he believed in breaking all artificial barriers between the peasantry and the ruler and establishing direct and free contact with them with a view to minimising the possibilities of oppression and injustice by facilitating their access to the king.

Fourthly realising fully that the basis and the source of the existence and stability of the State is finance, he was most concerned about the welfare and safety of the cultivators. Therefore whenever he had any chance of governing, whether a jagir, a province or a kingdom, the first thing he did was to take all necessary steps to make the peasantry perfectly safe and put their minds at ease in order to encourage and enhance cultivation which was the main source of the income of the State.

Fifthly, Sher Shah thought it necessary to establish a reign of strict justice for all without favour or frown. Rather than show any favour or undue consideration to men of high position or family status, he gave them much severer punishments than the common people; because he held that a man of position was expected to behave in a more responsible and sensible manner than the average man.

Sixthly, Sher Shah believed like Asoka and Harsh and Akbar that 'it behoves the great *i. e.*, the rulers, to be always active', and to devote undivided and unsparing attention and energy in the service of the State.

Seventhly, he discarded the policy of placing religious bigotry above considerations of the good of the kingdom and that of sacrificing the interests of the people at the altar of narrow religious obligations.

Eighthly, his principle was to spend the greater part of the revenue of the State on the welfare of the people in general and not to usurp it for his personal whims or comforts.

His whole life as well as the occasional expressions of his views bear unmistakable testimony to the above analysis of the principles which informed the government of Sher Shah.

Sher Shah's principles tested by Islamic Standards.—The above statement of Sher Shah's principles of government must be judged also in the light of the obligations and duties of a Muslim King as propounded by Muslim jurists. Al Mawardi summarises the duties of a Muslim king as follows :—

(1) To maintain the essential tenets of the Faith, (2) to decide disputes among the subjects, (3) to protect the Islamic countries, (4) to wage war on those who refuse to embrace Islam or to obey those conditions which have been laid down for non-Muslims, (5) to make use of the Law, (6) to defend the frontiers of the kingdom, (7) to make annual expenditure from the treasury, (8) to realise the taxes, (9) to appoint reliable officers, (10) to supervise the administration and carry on the government efficiently and well.¹

It will be observed that Sher Shah's principles show only such necessary modifications as the circumstances of a country with a very large non-Muslim population demanded.

The Central Government of Sher Shah : The Sovereign—All monarchies of that age were, in structure and in theory, if not altogether in practice, despotic. But Sher Shah's government was, by the nature of the case, the most centralised and undiluted despotism. It was in this respect unique and without a parallel. The peculiar circumstances of his accession to kingship made him, not only in theory but in actual practice, the ultimate source of all power and authority, both civil and military. Of all the medieval monarchs Sher Shah was the only one, who

¹ This is a substance of the duties of a king given by Von Kreamer, in 'Orient under the Caliphate', translated by Khuda Bakhsh, pp. 265-66.

had no ministers to assist him by their wise counsels in difficult situations and restrain him from hasty steps, to temper the severity of his judgments, or to mould his policies. He had only secretaries who enjoyed no more authority than merely to carry out the biddings of the king. Surprising as this might appear, the reason of it is not far to seek. Sher Shah had become king at the end of a long period of chaos and political disintegration in the country. The leading nobles and amirs had been too much involved in court intrigues and wars of offence and defence to have any time or inclination to cultivate the arts of the statesman and the politician which can only thrive in times of peace. Neither the condition of the government nor the general political atmosphere was such as to afford proper encouragement or facilities for any one acquiring a training and experience in high policies and statecraft. Besides, it should be borne in mind that Sher Shah became king at the ripe old age of sixty eight years and that he had already had several occasions of governing territories in Bihar, ranging from a few parganahs to a whole province. Sher Shah had made the best use of these opportunities and had not only mastered all the details of administration, but acquainted himself with the shortcomings and defects of the Afghan system which had been substantially preserved by Babar. He had openly passed strictures on Babar's government and no less on the methods of local administration by the Afghan chiefs. He had also tried drastically to improve the system wherever and whenever he got a chance to do so. For instance he had, for a fairly long period, administered the jagir of his father, and had made the people prosperous as they had never been before, by his strong and vigorous administration and by perfecting it in every detail. So when he became king he was thoroughly acquainted with not only the details of administration but also with its many defects and shortcomings, and hence he came with well-thought out and mature plans of reform and reconstruction. There was nothing to discuss, nothing to deliberate upon or decide, either in the matter of administrative plans or policies.

Every scheme had been tried, albeit on a smaller scale, and was ready to be launched.

Under such circumstances, first rate men, and consummate politicians alone could occupy ministerial offices, to deliberate with the king on matters of state policy. But the time was unc congenial for the production of first rate men. It could produce mediocrities only, and mediocrities had no place in Sher Shah's ministry.

No wonder therefore that a veteran of Sher Shah's calibre and capacity did not find any one among his contemporaries who could satisfy his standards of administrative experience and ability. Nor, luckily, did he need any one. He had the justifiable self-complacency of an architect who wanted no planners but only executants.

This is borne out by Mushtaqi when he says : "For four hours he listened to the reading of reports on the affairs of the country or on the business of the government establishments. The orders which he gave were reduced to writing, and were issued and acted upon ; *there was no need of further discussion.*"¹

So we witness the rather extraordinary phenomenon of his having no ministers but only secretaries. This was the secret which explains the unusual expedition and ability with which he successfully introduced all his administrative plans and reforms as soon as he conquered any province or district.

Thus circumstances had made Sher Shah the most absolute despot among the entire range of Muslim rulers of India ; but his broad outlook and liberal mind made him an enlightened and benevolent despot at the same time. He followed a very regular routine of work. His historian says that Sher Shah used to rise when two-thirds of the night had passed, and bathing himself he said his prayersuntil the fourth watch (पहर). After that he heard

¹Elliot, iv, 550.

the accounts of the various officers and the secretaries (arkan-i-daulat) made their reports of the work to be done in their respective departments, and the orders which the king gave were taken down by them for their guidance, so that they might not need to make enquiries again. At day-break, Sher Shah again performed his ablutions and with a great assembly went through his obligatory devotions, and read the prayer. After this the chiefs and soldiers were allowed to pay their respects. One hour after sunrise he performed the Ishraq prayer. Then he gave jagirs to such as did not possess any. Next he enquired if there were any who were oppressed and he redressed their grievances. Thus he worked very hard and did not allow himself more than the minimum necessary rest or comfort. Sher Shah's devotion to duty, energetic application to his work, and personal attention to every detail combined with strict inspection and scrutiny of the work of his subordinates, resulted in the establishment of such peace and security and order and discipline in the kingdom as had never been witnessed for centuries before.

Extent of Sher Shah's kingdom.—Sher Shah acquired a far greater territory than his Mughal predecessors. His dominions extended from Sonargaon in the east to the border of Gakkhar country in the north-west, the western boundary being formed by a line joining Jogi Balnath on the Jhelum in the north and Khushab nearly a hundred miles to south-west and thence running across the Jhelum along the bank of the Indus down to Bhakkar. Sindh had been surrendered to Sher Shah by its Afghan chieftains, but the desert country comprising Jaisalmer and Bikaner remained independent. In Rajputana he had extended his sway over Jodhpur, roughly as far as Abu and Chittor, while on the south he subjugated the country as far as Vindhya and Karakoram ranges which represented the boundaries of his kingdom on that side. Thus western Rajputana, Malwa, Bundelkhand and probably part of Baghelkhand and then Bihar, excluding Chhota Nagpur,

were all included in his kingdom.¹

Administrative Divisions—Sher Shah seems to have retained more or less the former limits of the provinces, sarkars (Shiqqs) and parganahs. Although no list of the parganahs is given by any of his historians, the names of different provinces frequently occur in their chronicles. Abul Fazl says that Sher Shah divided his whole kingdom excepting Bengal into 47 sarkars. With the nineteen sarkars of Bengal the total will become 66. The total number of sarkars in the empire of Akbar was 105, and the extent of the territory nearly double that of Sher Shah. Thus the number of sarkars given by Abul Fazl for the kingdom of Sher Shah seems to have been almost the same as under Akbar. The slight changes which would have, no doubt, been made do not indicate a general re-shuffling of their sizes or boundaries. The following twelve provinces are mentioned in the chronicles : Bengal, Bihar, Awadh, Rohilkhand, Agra, Dihli, Lahore, Multan, Sindh, Jodhpur, Chittor, Malwa. But the extent of Bengal, Bihar, Lahore, Multan and Sindh was much smaller than under Akbar.

The Sarkars were divided into parganahs. The parganah was the smallest unit of administration. As regards the total number of parganahs the statements of the contemporary writers have created a great deal of confusion. But it seems reasonable to presume that the number 113000 which is mentioned by them represents the number of villages and not parganahs.² We have no means to know

¹See 'Prov. Gov. of the Mughals' p. 49 for a full discussion of this question. Qanungo is wrong in saying that Sher Shah's north-western boundary extended as far as the Indus or that the whole of Rajputana including Abu were included within his kingdom. Nor was any part of Assam possessed by him.

²Abbas and according to a foot note on the same page (Elliot, iv, 424:) Mushtaqi also gives 113000, while on p. 551, he has only 13000. This seems to be a mistake of the translator. Qanungo's attempt to arrive at a probable number of the parganahs by multiplying the parganahs included in the provinces of the same name under Akbar, by three is, as usual, utterly

the exact number of parganahs other than an approximation which can be arrived at on the basis of the figures for the same territories given by Abūl Fazl.

The provincial heads were the Afghan amirs and nobles who had co-operated with him in wresting back the kingdom of Hindustan from the Mughals.¹ We find mention of deputy governors also in most cases for the express reason that the newly conquered territories were full of turbulent and self-seeking men and consequently the governors required equally capable and responsible assistants to maintain peace and order. There is no mention of any other provincial officer by his chroniclers. But it seems certain that he had a provincial head of justice as well as of the revenue department.

The head of the *sarkar* was the chief shiqqdar (Shiqqdar-i-Shiqq-daran). The name *sarkar* seems to have come into vogue under Sikandar Lodi, in place of the former shiqq, which was probably a larger division. Under Sher Shah it was definitely adopted to the entire exclusion of '*shiqq*'. The powers and functions of the chief shiqqdar were almost the same as those of faujdar of sarkar under Akbar. It seems that the faujdars were not authorised to act as magistrates which duty was entrusted to kotwals, while the chief shiqqdar exercised both powers, executive and judicial. The faujdar under Sher Shah was a sort of semi-military police officer, whose chief duty was to maintain order and security. He had a contingent of cavalry under his charge and was expected to assist

baseless and superfluous. He has wrongly presumed the areas of Bihar, Punjab and Sind, to be the same in both cases.

Moreover there was no reason for Sher Shah to sub-divide the parganahs into such small units. There is not the slightest hint in the chronicles for such a presumption to have any basis.

¹Khizr Khan and then Qazi Fazilat were governors of Bengal, Shujaat Khan of Malwah, Ahmad Khan Sarwani of Dihli, Masnad-i-Ali Isa Khan of Rohilkhand, Khawas Khan of Lahore, Fateh Khan of Sindh.

the local officers whenever any rebels or disturbers of peace happened to be too strong for them. He was also expected to watch the roads and the countryside.

The next officer of the *sarkar* was the chief *amil*, or munsif. The primary function of the chief *amil* was to supervise the assessment and collection of revenue. The chief shiqqdar and chief *amil* were to watch the conduct of both the parganah officials and the people so that the former might not oppress any one and the latter might not misbehave or deceive the government. They were also to settle the quarrels of the parganah officials. In the event of any rebellion or lawlessness they were enjoined to destroy the miscreants ruthlessly so as to prevent the evil becoming contagious. The *amils* and other officers were transferred every year or two with the object of giving the benefit of profitable places uniformly to all and to prevent any one settling down in any territory permanently. We have enough grounds to presume that there was a qazi¹ and also a kotwal in every *sarkar*.

Parganah—The unit of administration was the parganah. The head of the parganah was called shiqqdar. He was assisted by an *amil* or munsiff (sometimes also called mushrif), a fotehdar, khazanahdar or or khazanchi, two karkuns (one Hindi writer and one Persian writer). It is to be noted that under the Khaljis and Tughlaqs the head of the parganah was called mutsarraf or *amil* and the shiqqdar was head of a shiqq. But in course of time shiqqdar sank to the position of the head of a parganah. The shiqqdar was the executive head of the parganah. He supervised the work of every other official, tried criminals, punished thieves, rebels and other miscreants and was responsible to the local treasury jointly with the khazanchi or fotehdar, the latter being answerable to him for the accounts, etc. The *amil* was in charge of the revenue administration in the parganah. He had to deal directly with the peasants; of course with the assistance of

¹Abbas says; 'He appointed courts of justice in every place.' Elliot, IV., 417.

chiefs who had conquered them or by their descendants. These warrior chiefs owned only a nominal allegiance which was indicated by occasional payment of tribute to the Lord of Dhilli. In their internal Government they enjoyed complete liberty of action and policy. There was thus neither administrative homogeneity nor political solidarity in the kingdom. The security of the chiefs depended on mere force even as the security of the sovereign depended on his power to force allegiance and tribute from them. These warrior kinglets maintained in big towns garrisons to keep turbulence in check and to help in the realisation of revenue. Nor were the provincial boundaries well-defined. They were frequently shifting. These provinces were called Iqtas or Wilayats, and their rulers Muqts or Walis. An attempt was made under Ala-uddin Khalji to bring about uniformity in some departments of administration, but these measures never went beyond the 'Doab'. The revolutionary projects of Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq did not make any headway for lack of response. In the century and half following the death of Muhammad Tughlaq administrative efficiency followed a downward course ending in chaos and anarchy, and eventually in the conquest of the country by Babar. But neither Babar nor Humayun was endowed with that genius or experience which was required to build up a well-organised administrative structure. Hence, although the Turko-Afghan rulers of the land became in course of time thoroughly Indianised in their politico-social outlook, the basic principles and policy of the Government vis-a-vis the masses of the people underwent almost no modification.

It was Sher Shah who for the first time evinced the enlightened mind and sound commonsense of a far-sighted statesman. Not only did he essay earnestly and with success to define the territorial limits, and to establish uniformity in administration throughout the kingdom but also radically to change the policy and character of his government if only out of considerations of political expediency. Before Sher Shah the character of the Sultanate had remained that of a camp rule imposed on the people from above by sheer

force. Under Sher Shah it was transformed both in spirit and form into an enlightened despotism.

Departments of Government—The details available in the sources of Sher Shah's history are quite adequate to show that he had divided the various functions of the Government into separate departments with well-defined jurisdictions and spheres of work. We find mention of the military department, finance, public works, and judiciary and charities.

The Army—Since the days of Firoz Shah Tughlaq every branch of the Government machinery had become disorganised. Sikandar Lodi had made an abortive attempt to improve the general tone and discipline of the services but with no appreciable results. After Sikandar, Ibrahim's stormy regime left the administration in complete chaos. Sher Shah had therefore to thoroughly overhaul and reorganise every department, particularly because he observed many serious defects in the Mughal system under Babar and Humayun.

One great defect of the army of the Turko-Afghan rulers was that the contingents maintained by the provincial heads had hardly any direct obligation towards the Sultan. They were recruited, paid and commanded by their provincial authorities and hence greatly stimulated in the local chief, the tendency to revolt and become independent. Sher Shah centralised the control by making every soldier take an oath of fidelity to the King.

Sher Shah's army may be classed under two categories: (1) the central army and (2) the forces maintained and whenever necessary, supplied by the provincial and local governors. Some sort of Mansabdari system was clearly the basis of organisation and recruitment. The King himself recruited some men for his army, while the provincial governors, and presumably the faujdars and other local officers, were authorised to raise their own contingents, according to their respective mansab (rank). The highest mansab was of 30,000 horse¹, but the mansabs were confined

¹Haibat Khan Niaz had a force of 50,000 men in order to guard the frontier near Rohas fort.

only to higher officers.

Among the reforms introduced by Sher Shah the chief and most beneficial was the 'branding (dagh) regulation, and descriptive roll (chehra), about which he was very strict. This step was taken in order to check fraud which was so common in the reign of Ibrahim Lodī. No soldier or even any other servants were paid unless they fulfilled the conditions of the branding and descriptive roll. This seems to point to the practice of all disbursements of salaries through the military department, a practice which was maintained and further regularised under Akbar. The soldiers were paid a fixed salary from the treasury. The system of payment by jagirs was discontinued.

The central standing army consisted of 1,50,000 cavalry and 25,000 infantry. But on expeditions he took even more men. His forces were armed either with bows or matchlocks. He had, in addition to this, a corps of 5000 elephants. Sher Shah had no regular artillery.

The main contingents of the various mansabdars (commanders) were distributed as follows :

In Gwalior, one fauj and 1600	Bayana	500	"	matchlockmen.
"	Ranthambhor	1600	"	"
"	Chittorgarh	3000	"	"
"	Mandu	10000 cav. 7000	"	"
"	Raisin	one fauj, 1000	"	topchi
"	Chunar	1000	"	matchlockmen
"	Rohas	10000	"	"
(In the fort of Rohas was situated the Central treasury of the kingdom.)				
"	Kalpi one fauj and 12000 matchlockmen.			

There was also a fauj each in Lucknow, Dhandhera (Ambar), Bajhwara (in Sirhind), Nagar and Ajmer. From the above account it is clear that the term fauj meant cavalry, but its strength remains a matter of conjecture, although it is also clear that it was less than 10000

¹ See Elliot, IV, +12.

horse. Very likely it was five thousand, which was the minimum mansab of provincial governors. Thus the total strength of this army amounted to nearly one lakh cavalry and 50000 infantry.

Finance.—The main source of income was land revenue. Sher Shah was exceptionally careful about the safety and prosperity of the cultivators, whom he regarded as the backbone of the State. There were three methods prevalent in the land in pre-Muslim times by which land revenue was assessed or estimated. Ala-uddin had tried to revive the measurement system which had since fallen into disuse. But it was again abandoned from the time of Firoz Shah Tughlaq. Sher Shah restored this method wherever it was possible, and brought the major part of his kingdom under survey (zabt). In order to ensure accuracy of measurement and honesty in collections, he fixed the wages of the measurers and collectors. Sher Shah's demand was one-third or thirty-three per cent of the actual produce, the province of Multan being the only exception where the rate of assessment was $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the yield. In regard to the form of payment full option was given to the cultivators to pay either in kind or cash.

In the method of survey, the holding under cultivation of each cultivator was measured for every harvest and recorded. The average yield of each unit of area was obtained from the records or knowledge of the qanungos, and one third of this was fixed as the share due to the king, and was realised at the time of harvest. Besides the survey system, the two other systems called *batai* or *ghalla-bakshi* (sharing) and *kankut* also obtained in those parts where it was not found workable. In *batai* the harvest was divided into three equal heaps in the presence of the government collector, the village headmen and mughaddams as well as the cultivator. One of the heaps was taken by the government and two were left to the cultivator. *Kankut* signified a method of compounding or agreeing upon a common estimate of the crop before it was harvested, between the peasant and the government officers. One-

third of this estimate was then realised at harvest time.

The practice of measuring the lands every harvest must have entailed considerable expense and labour to the government and inconvenience to the peasants. This defect as we shall see, was remedied by the 'Ten Year Settlement' of Akbar. In the all too brief space of a few years Sher Shah had organised the most complicated revenue department with remarkable quickness and success more than which could hardly have been done by any other person. Very likely Sher Shah also had all land classified according to its fertility.

Besides land and revenue there were some other sources of income, such as transit or custom duty which was collected at two places: (1) In the west at Rohas and other frontiers upon goods entering the country from outside, and (2) in the east at Sakrigali pass, upon goods coming from Bengal. An octroi duty was also levied on merchants at the place of sale. All other duties and taxes, either on roads or ferries, in town or village, were strictly forbidden.

The zakat (if it continued to be realised from Muslims) and jizyah as well as war booty were additional sources of some income. But it seems that the jizyah was not very strictly enforced, though it was not formally abolished. The central treasury of Sher Shah was in the fort of Rohas (Raet), but he used to keep enough money in provincial and local treasuries against emergencies.

Expenditure.—There were four main channels of expenditure: army, civil administration, public works and charitable endowments, privy purse and royal household. We know that the total of the standing army of Sher Shah, both central and provincial, was about three lakhs, plus 500 elephants. The expenditure during wars, which the king had to wage almost ceaselessly, must have been considerably larger. The number of secretaries for each department must have been at least three or four with a numerous staff of superintendents, clerks, accountants, working under them. In the twelve provinces there must have been at

least three more high officials besides the governor, i.e., the heads of revenue, judicial and police departments, each with a staff of his own. There were about seventy sarkars and over a thousand parganas. It is however impossible to make even a rough estimate of the expenditure on these services for sheer lack of any information in that connection. Nor are there any data available concerning the establishment maintained in the sarais. We only know that as many as 1700 sarais were built by him and the capital investment on these must have been considerable. But the recurring expense incurred on the establishment maintained by the state for the comfort of the travellers and merchants, both Hindu and Muslim, seems to be almost unbelievable. Then he built several trunk roads connecting the distant parts of the country and planted fruit trees on both sides of them which should have involved much investment. As regards the personal and household expenses of the King we are equally in the dark. We only know that Shah was quite restrained and abstemious and his household expenditure was comparatively meagre considering the usual ways of the rulers of that age.

The only item of expense of which the historian of Shah Shah has furnished some data is the department of charities. The King had opened free kitchens (Langar-i-tugara) in a few places. Several thousands of poor and destitute people were fed in these every day. He settled allowances on the poor and blind in every place and village and city. Thousands of soldiers and servants of the state also dined in the royal kitchen daily. 'Two institutions', says Mushtaqi, 'were maintained during his reign without interruption: one, *imarat khana*, the other, the houses for the poor, for the institutions confer general benefit.' Five hundred gold ashras was spent on the langar every day, i.e., 1,82,500 ashras per year. Calculated at the rate of gold in terms of silver, which according to Ibd. Thomas² was as 1 : 97, nearly 1 Elliot, IV, 579. 'Imarat Khana' has been translated in Elliot as religious establishments, but I think it means the 'department of buildings'.² See 'Chronicles', 405.

5,000 silver tankas or rupees daily or 18,25,000, annually, was spent on this charity. Besides this Sher Shah spent equally liberally on the poor and the needy, the widows and the sick, as well as on grants and stipends (wazifas) to religious and educational institutions and to those who maintained them.

Justice—The information concerning the judiciary of Sher Shah, in the contemporary sources, is practically nil. It seems that because Sher Shah made no appreciable changes in the previous system, the chroniclers did not deem it necessary to describe it. We are, however, told that Sher Shah had established 'courts of justice in every place' which shows that there were regular courts, rising from the local ones to the highest court of the King. But though nothing is said about the judicial organisation we are told enough about the care and concern of the King about justice. First he allowed everybody, even the humblest and meanest, to prefer complaints against the tyranny of officials, directly to the King without any check or hindrance. Secondly he gave very severe punishments to oppressors of the peasantry. Thirdly he made no distinction between high and low and indeed chastised men of high power and position even more severely. Fourthly he gave deterrent punishments to thieves and robbers and other enemies of the public. These principles of Sher Shah must have exercised a very wholesome and sobering influence on those responsible for the administration of justice in the country, and in establishing the reign of justice and fair play. It seems almost certain that the ancient village and community panchayats (councils) were recognised by the government and were allowed to carry out their work undisturbed.

Public Works—Among the many admirable achievements of Sher Shah, his most well-known and concrete contribution were his public works. His public works, planned and executed in a miraculously short time were for a long time after him regarded as the greatest monuments to his glory. They serve to show his benevolent intentions and solicitude for the welfare of all classes of his people.

The most unique programme of national reconstruction launched by Sher Shah was that of his roads and sarais. By his roads he connected the most important points in the kingdom from end to end. The largest of his roads was built from Sunargaon (Dacca) to Kohlas on the Jhelum. This road which seems to have followed the track of the Mauryan road connecting Gour with the north-west, became the precursor of the modern G. T. Road which joins Calcutta with Peshawar. Another road was built from Benares to Mandu¹. Agra being the hub of the empire, several roads radiated from it in different directions connecting it with Burhanpur on the borders of the Deccan, Jodhpur in Marwar, Ajmer in the heart of Rajputana, and Chittor in Mewar. One important road was constructed between Agra and Delhi to connect them straight, west of the Jumna, formerly communication between the two places was only through the Doab.² Another road was built from Bayana to Jaunpur on the one side and Ajmer on the other. One more road still connected Lahore with Multan. The utility of these roads was great and many-sided, as I shall presently explain, but it was infinitely enhanced by the construction of sarais on all the roads at intervals of two kos. Abbis says that shady fruit trees were planted on both sides of the roads but Alushaqi adds that gardens were also laid out along with the *sarais*.³ The *sarais* were fully equipped with all amenities necessary for the comfort of travellers. Inside each *sarai* there was a well and a mosque of burnt brick. But the most important building attached to each *sarai* was the 'royal chamber' (*Khana-i-Shahi*) which must have served the purpose of a Government inspection house to lodge Government officers on tour. The staff of the sarais consisted of a shahna (custodian), an imam (priest), a mutazzin (crier), and several watchmen. But what is most striking and remarkable is that he appointed Brahmans to cater for the Hindus and employed

¹ Alushaqi in Elliot, IV, 550.
² Elliot, VI, 188.
³ Ibid., IV, 550.

separate cooks, known as Bhatiaras to cook for the Hindus. Those who would not accept cooked food were given raw victuals.¹ Besides this, separate pitchers of water were provided at the gates of the sarais for Hindus and Muslims. Another author says that cooked food was distributed free to the Muslims and flour and ghee and other necessities to the Hindus.² In addition to food, hot and cold water and even beds were provided to men and provender and grain for their horses or oxen. These sarais also had the dak chowkies attached to them, and seventeen hundred, or according to some authors, 2500 such, were erected by Sher Shah all over the kingdom. For the upkeep of all this establishment villages around the sarais were allotted to them. These were managed by a Shiqdar. These arrangements were altogether unique and unprecedented in their magnitude. They serve to show the extraordinary magnanimity and fairness of Sher Shah's mind.

The roads served a variety of purposes. Travelling having been made absolutely safe, the facility of travelling afforded by the roads was very greatly enhanced as is evident from the fact that transit duties and octroi tax became a plentiful source of government revenue under Sher Shah. Moreover the roads also served as means of consolidating the king's authority by bringing even the distant parts of the kingdom into easier and quicker accessibility from the centre. The same fact added greatly to the security of the kingdom from external danger, by facilitating transmits-

¹ Khafi Khan, (Bib-Ind. Text.) I, 102.

² Sujan Rai's Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh Ms. No. $\frac{36}{3}$ of the B. H. U. fol. 216a. The other two Mss. in the B. H. U. Library have the same reading: $\frac{36}{3}$ of the B. H. U. Professor S. R. Sarma's accusation against Sher Shah, (see 'Religious Policies of the Mughals', p. 11), would seem to be utterly baseless and unfair in view of all these precautions to satisfy even the most orthodox Hindus.

sion of news and the movement of armies from one part to another. But perhaps the most far-reaching and lasting benefit accruing from the roads was the unconscious strengthening of the feeling of oneness, economic, social and cultural, which must have resulted from a restoration, under those conditions of peace and security, of a much closer and wider contact between the people of the distant parts of this extensive land, a contact which had naturally become greatly restricted and scarce for several centuries, from the lack of proper facilities of movement.

The sarais too were not mere hostels. As already mentioned, to them were attached post-houses as well as government inspection houses. These functions of the sarais, however, will be noticed in their proper context.

The sarais and roads together with the poor houses and various other institutions of public utility and welfare remind us of such glorious periods of ancient India as the Mauryan or the Gupta period, in which these institutions and public works were far more advanced. Concerning the Gupta regime, Ra Hien says that the people were full of wealth and prosperity, and there were numerous religious and charitable institutions scattered over the country. For the convenience of travellers there were rest houses on the roads, and there was a big charitable hospital in the capital for the upkeep of which educated and generous men had made large endowments.

Postal-service, spies and police.—For carrying post two horses were kept in each sarai. The postal arrangements which obtained during the Sultanate period were revived and put in a sound working condition. The speed with which post could be carried can be judged from the instance of Husam Tashdar who is said to have travelled 300 miles in the course of a single day.¹

Spies.—The spy system of Sher Shah was as perfect and proficient as other departments. Although nothing more

than a mere incidental reference to the existence of spies occurs in the sources. We are, however, told that spies were sent with every force of nobles in order that they might secretly enquire about their activities and the condition of the country and report it to the king so that he should come to know if any of them was guilty of contumacy, inefficiency or neglect of duty. A very fine instance of the excellent and quick work of the spies is afforded by the case of Shujaat Khan, governor of Malwah, who on the advice of his nobles, tried to pay to his soldiers something less than their fixed salaries. The matter reached the ears of the king before the representatives (vakils) of the soldiers arrived at court to report it. Shujaat Khan was severely scolded for his conduct and given a frightful warning against repetition of such conduct.

Police. If the soundness and excellence of a system or department of administration is to be measured—by its results, the police system of Sher Shah deserves the highest admiration. He established a degree of security in the country which had not been known for centuries and was admired by historians for centuries after him. This security was established by making those very sections of people, viz., the chowdhries and muqaddams of villages, responsible for it, who were expected to know or even sometimes were the accomplices and abettors of the robbers and thieves of their respective localities. When a theft, robbery or murder occurred, the muqaddams and headmen of the locality were arrested and unless they found out and apprehended the culprit they had either to restore the lost property or to suffer imprisonment or execution. It, therefore, became the interest of the leading men themselves of each locality to keep watch over it for the sake of their own safety.

The second device of Sher Shah was to administer exemplary and deterrent punishments when the culprit was caught. These measures may sound inhuman but they had the wholesome effect of restoring such security and freedom from every sort of theft or robbery that the very name of

such occurrences was unknown during his reign. At the same time the spies of the king were so circumspect, as pointed out above, that the slightest misuse of power on their part was reported to the king without delay and the guilty officer never escaped either severe reprimand or punishment, as he deserved.

-On the basis of a remark of Abbas that Sher Shah used to transfer his favourites to profitable districts after every two or three years to enable them to make good gains, Wolsley Haig has given free play to his imagination and concluded that this pernicious practice encouraged officials to make all that they could in the short time during which they held office.¹ It is true that the old favourite officers were appointed as heads of districts which post carried good salaries, profits and advantages. But there is no warrant in this for building the conclusion which Wolsley Haig has done, especially in view of Sher Shah's extreme strictness in maintaining the honesty and uprightness of all government officers by means of administering frightful chastisement to derelicts and oppressors of the people. It is unbelievable that a man like Sher Shah could have brooked, much less himself encouraged, or furnished the opportunities for, such corruption. It is therefore certain that there were some legitimate and well-known sources of income, such as commissions fixed by the government, which accrued to the officers, although these means are not specified by the historian.

Coinage and currency reform.—"Sher Shah's reign," says Edward Thomas, "constitutes an important test point in the annals of Indian coinages, not only in its specific mini-reforms, but as correcting the progressive deteriorations of previous kings, and as introducing many of those improvements which the succeeding mughals claimed as their own."² This remark is true in another sense also. The coinage of the first two Mughals and that of Sher Shah throws a flood of light not only on their mental attitude

¹ Vide, C. H. I., IV, 56. (1st Edition).
² Chronicles, 403.

and policy but also on their general equipment and fitness

as administrators.

The coins of Babar and Humayun are found to have some distinctive characteristics. In the first place they do not bear any legend in Devanagiri inscription along side the Persian one of giving a Devanagiri inscription along side the Persian one had begun with Mahmud and was followed upto the time of Sultan Jalal-uddin Firuz Khalji. It was given up since Ala-uddin's time, the coins from that time bearing legends only in Persian characters. This practice was continued by Babar and Humayun. But even a more significant feature was that the coins of Babar before the battle of Khanwaha do not bear the word *Ghazi*, a title which was adopted and proclaimed by Babar, as we have observed above, at the time when he was confronted by a formidable Hindu foe. This practice was then continued under Humayun. Akbar also, during the early part of his reign, allowed the established practice to continue until he had the time to pay attention to and modify it to conform with his general policy. Thirdly, the silver coins of Babar, designated by Abul Fazl under the generic terms of *Babaris*, were exactly like the Shahrughis (of the Persian Emperor Shah Rukh, whose coins were spread all over Asia) both in weight and form. They were thus a mere imitation and continuation of Shahrughis. The coinage of Sher Shah is found to be free from these three features. Sher Shah revived the practice of putting a legend in Devanagiri characters beside the Persian one. He did not style himself *Ghazi*, and his whole coinage was purely indigenous, suited to the requirements of the people of the land. On the contrary, as Ed. Thomas has pointed out, although much improvement was made in the excellence of their execution and in making them more artistic, no effort seems to have been made by the first two Chaghtai kings to assimilate their system of coinage to the wants of their new subjects. But Thomas has gone a bit off the point in thinking that, in this regard, the intention..... appears to have been to force upon the conquered country the style of coin and scheme of exchange in use in the

distant kingdoms whence the invaders came. The true cause, however, which was responsible for their imitation of the Shahrukhis as also of the other features noticed above, was rather the lack of experience and knowledge of the administrative details of the country. In all our comparisons of the two Chaghtai emperors and Sher Shah we should never forget the fundamental fact that the former being foreigners were thoroughly unacquainted with the institutions of India, while the latter was an Indian to the marrow his bones and besides, possessed of a long and intimate knowledge of the administrative traditions and affairs of the country. Thus it would be perhaps unfair to ascribe any motive of oppression in their continuing a replica of the Shahrukhi coinage. This is further affirmed by the fact that they did not abrogate the use of the indigenous coins which were current from before. The title of Ghazi too, as we know, was adopted as a clever political move rather than from any religious bigottedness. The above reasons explain the great difference between the coin systems of the first two Mughals and Sher Shah. The latter will now be briefly noticed.

The exotic coins did not survive long particularly because, as Thomas says, Sher Shah, 'with the advantages of his individual local experience and clear administrative capacity, quickly reconstructed the currency upon the most comprehensive basis.

The foremost reform in coinage introduced by Sher Shah was that he superseded the previous coins of mixed metals, and substituted coins of a single metal, thus avoiding the possibilities of cheating and dishonesty which mixed coins afforded at every stage. At the same time he revised and readjusted the relative values of silver and copper. Thirdly, he substituted in place of the previous coins of indeterminate weights, coins of definite weight and purity, his silver *tanka* being fixed at 11½ masha=178 grains. The term rupee probably came into vogue for this silver *tanka* of Sher Shah and Akbar's *talai* was only another name for the same coin with a new stamp. Of the copper

tanka the weight was fixed at $1\frac{1}{2}$ tolas = 21 mashas = 330 gr. and coins of $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$ weight of the copper *tanka*. This came to be called *dam* under Akbar and later on *double paisa* or *adhamia* in modern times. Such small divisions of the copper *tanka* were required because of the extreme cheapness of commodities at that time. One Bahloli or Sikandari *tanka* could buy 10 maunds of grain. One Bahloli was enough for the expenses of a traveller with a servant and a horse, to go from Dihli to Agra. The silver *tanka* or rupia of Sher Shah which was an improved and regularised form of the Bahloli and Sikandari *tanka*, was the precursor of the modern rupee. It was retained under Akbar and his successors and was adopted in 1835 by the East India Company in the form of the rupee of King William IV.

The fourth important reform was made in the management and efficiency of the mints by subjecting them to such strict supervision as to render all corruption and cheating in the minting impossible. By this means the issue of reliable coins of a specified standard was assured.

The fifth improvement was greatly to increase the number of mints. There were about seven mints under Babar and nine under Humayun, but under Sher Shah we can count as many as twenty-three mints, so that every important locality had its own mint. The intention of establishing so many mints was to give every facility to the people to get their metals converted into coins whenever they needed them. This, was convenient for the government and avoided the unnecessary difficulty of transport.

In order to establish the coinage and its relative values on a stable basis it was necessary to fix a rate of exchange between gold and silver. This, as is evident from a study of his coins, was fixed by Sher Shah at nearly 1 : 9, which was the ratio previously current in the country.

The coins of Sher Shah were both round and square in shape. There were coins of only three metals, gold, silver and copper. The chief legend on them was in Arabic or Persian characters, but the kings' name was also

in Devanagiri. The names of the first four *khalifas* on four corners indicate that Sher Shah was a devout Muslim. The Hindi legends incidentally afford also specimens of the language and script of that age.

Contribution of Sher Shah.—All contemporary and later writers as well as modern students of his history are agreed in the estimate that Sher Shah was one of the ablest, most vigorous and clear-headed administrators of medieval times.

Among the Muslim rulers of India it was he who for the first time laid down a definite policy that the aim and object of the ruler should be to work unsparingly for the happiness and welfare of his subjects. This he regarded as the highest ideal of the state, and his contribution toward the fulfilment of this object was great and enduring. His vigorous and comprehensive reforms, his consolidation of the vast territories under his sway by enforcing a uniform system all over, his encouragement of art and industry and commerce, his public works, and above all the revival of the feeling, as a result of all these measures of cementing them all, of oneness among the people of the country, constituted the first sincere endeavour at nation-building since the establishment of Muslim rule in India. Thus Sher Shah bequeathed a proud and glorious legacy to his successors.

Islam Shah's modifications.—Islam Shah, the son and successor of Sher Shah, though nowhere near Sher Shah's greatness, was yet a very strong and energetic ruler. He had added some more territories to those which he had inherited, viz., the lower reaches of mountains north of the Punjab and eastern Bengal.

Reference has already been made to the manner in which Islam Shah further strengthened the position of the king by crushing the nobility and making them acquiesce to very humiliating conditions. He began by depriving them of their male elephants only leaving one female elephant with each, and greatly restricted their social and convivial gatherings. By another decree he forbade the use by the nobles of red tents restricting their use for the king alone. But the

most effective measure was the rather extra-ordinary order that the instrument of instructions and regulations covering eighty sheets of paper, which the king had drawn up for the guidance of all government employees, was to be read out every Friday to all of them assembled under a canopy and they were to bow to the slippers of the king which were enthroned respectfully on the pulpit to represent the king. This ceremony was held in every district throughout the kingdom.

Moreover Islam Shah resumed almost all jagirs excepting *maddat-i-maash* and *'aima-grants*. He made certain improvements in the army too. He formed troops of 50, 200, 250 and 500 and appointed a competent staff for their management. Among the higher grades he formed commands of 500, 1000 and 2000, each of which was placed under a sardar assisted by an Afghan munsiff, a Hindustani judge, and two eunuchs of the palace. This system became the basic structure which was elaborated by Akbar into the Mansabdari system.

In imitation of his father, Islam Shah added one more sarai between each two sarais of Sher Shah, although this seems to have been superfluous. According to Daudi Islam Shah further extended the charity instituted by Sher Shah, and ordered that arrangements for giving alms should be made at each sarai instead of only in the royal camp, as under Sher Shah. All the arrangements made for the Hindus and Musalmans by Sher Shah were continued by Islam Shah, and the efficiency and strength of the administration were not allowed to deteriorate.

Nature and character of Mughal Polity.—Islam had no pre-conceived philosophy or theory of State. It does not recognise the substantive or independent existence of the state as a social institution. According to Islamic law the state is not the primary or fundamental condition of human society. It is the creed, as defined by the law of God, which circumscribes the sole aim and end of human existence, and hence the duty of the Muslim, both as an individual and as a social being is to fulfill the law, and thus to help attain the aim and object of the *Creed*. The State emerged into existence as a result of the growing and inevitable needs of subserving the ends of the *Creed*. Hence according to the Islamic conception the State is but an instrument to serve the Creed in the attainment of its object or the ideal of the *Millet* of Islam, as revealed to it through the medium of the Prophet. It is only a handmaid and an adjunct of the Creed. If it fails of its duty of rightly and fully subserving the Creed, it forfeits its right to exist. The Islamic polity thus founded was followed by political speculation. Although Roman and Greek sources were freely drawn upon in defining and expounding the scope and functions of the State, yet it was imperative that the Quran, the unalterable, eternal Word of God, should be proclaimed to be the sole and ultimate source of all law. In theory the theocratic origin of the Law and State could not be altered without committing a breach with the creed. Further the Islamic state contemplated the Muslims alone, that is to say, only the community of the Faithful, to be entitled to the citizenship of the state. It was conceived essentially as a *communal theocracy* admitting only a particular section of society distinguished by the profession of a certain faith, to the exclusion of all other human

(CENTRAL)

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE MUGHALS

CHAPTER IV

beings. God was the head and ultimate sovereign of the Muslim State, and the earthly ruler, the *Khalifa* his deputy or vicergerent, created and deputed by God solely for the purpose of carrying out the divine dictates. The *Khalifa* was the supreme administrator, judge and military leader, having inherited these functions from the Prophet but not the prophetic office which was said to have come to an end with the Prophet's passing away. The *Khalifa* was an absolute despot, his absolutism was circumscribed and tempered only by the divinely inspired law, but not by any earthly power. It is also to be noted that the Law of Islam conceives the existence of only one *Khalifa* or leader and ruler of the entire Islamic world. According to one of the greatest modern exponents of Islamic Law and Policy, 'Islamic *Millat* is based on the Unity of God and the finality of the Prophet'.....and being so based the Islamic *Millat* is not confined to territorial limits. Nationalism is foreign to Muslim polity : to a Muslim the entire world is his abode and place of worship. for it lies within the 'Sovereignty of Allah'.¹ But the force of circumstances, never contemplated by the Founder of the Faith, compelled a radical modification of this ideal. Within almost a century centrifugal tendencies manifested themselves in the distant parts of the vast Muslim Empire and it was not long when various chiefs set up independent principalities in different lands, many of which became extremely powerful reducing the *Khalifa* to a mere figure-head. All these kingdoms nominally acknowledged the spiritual sovereignty of the Caliph but in temporal matters they were their own masters. The chief visible token of the Caliph was the retention of his name in the *Khutbah*, "a bidding prayer" recited on Fridays in the mosque throughout Islam, and on the coins. It is extremely probable that even this fragment of authority was only allowed to survive for reasons of state, principally to invest with a show of legitimacy the claims of the various rulers who were, theoretically at least, vassals of god's vicergerent on earth, the

Caliph of Baghdad." ¹ Such then was in general the position assumed by the Muslim rulers of different countries. Even when all but the ghost of the *Khilafat* had vanished the Muslim potentates of distant lands sought to legalise their assumption of authority by obtaining confirmation or occasionally a regular investiture by the *Khifā*.

But by the time the Mughals became rulers of India another far-reaching change had come about. It was no more necessary for the rulers to obtain investiture or even formal recognition from the *Khālifa* in order to legalise their right to rule. Every great king assumed the roll of *Khālifat* in his own right for all practical purposes, although some shadowy recognition of the authority of the early *Khālifa* was still retained by the common practice of these rulers, of inscribing the names of the first four *Khalifas* on their seals and coins and repetition of their names in the *Khutbah*. Thus in theory, at any rate, the Mughal rulers, like all other contemporary Muslim rulers, regarded themselves as true Muslim rulers and conveniently ignored the fact that they had departed very far in their actual practice from the basis of Muslim Law. It was but some of them tried very vigorously to vindicate their position by, as far as possible, utilising all the resources of the state in the service of the Creed and for the Muslim community primarily.

Akbar stood like a solitary tower in the midst of intellectual and cultural pigmies who went before or came after him. His genius was too great for either of them to comprehend. Possessed of a rare breadth of outlook, penetrative vision and insight and profound comprehension, he gave to Islam and the Muslim State a garb which was intended to shelter all human beings under its wings instead of confining itself to serving a single community. The character of the Muslim State was modified and widened so as to convert it from a communal and restricted theocracy into a *universal theocracy*. For two decades the

young emperor strove to pull the static and obdurate theologians and mullahs up to his level of thinking and to make them realise the need of a fresh interpretation and application of the Law in view of the changed and changing social environments; but finding them adamant and immovable, he felt constrained to restore or re-arrogate to himself the roll of the final interpreter or *Mujtahid* of the Law of the Quran, under due restrictions, of course. In this Akbar anticipated Iqbal who says that "the ultimate spiritual basis of all life as conceived by Islam is eternal and reveals itself in variety and change.....The teaching of the Quran that life is a process of progressive creation necessitates that each generation guided, but not hampered, by the work of its predecessor should be permitted to solve its own problems" Commenting on this Mr. M. A. Ahmad says "This implied the right of *Ijtihad*—independent judgment and interpretation of law in the light of changed and changing circumstances which Iqbal holds essential to the healthy development of the body politic". "The closing of the doors of *Ijtihad*", contends Iqbal, "is pure fiction"¹.

Holding such a progressive view of the Law as he did Akbar from the very start of his career began by wiping out all unjust and offensive distinctions between man and man, on the ground of faith, sect or community, and restored to every subject of the state equal rights of citizenship. By placing all his subjects on an equal civic footing and by respecting their just sentiments Akbar brought about a fundamental change in the nature of the Muslim Polity in India. Broad based on the people's will, the Universal Theocracy of Akbar was a genuinely *national state*, a state which was based on the conception of a common culture, a common heritage and a common country to which the entire people belonged.

His contemporaries and even his successors failed to comprehend the profound significance of the change. It

is, however, a tragic irony that the enlightened principles propounded and applied by Akbar nearly four centuries ago are beyond the comprehension of many an 'enlightened' person of modern times.

The aims of Akbar's Government. The aim of Akbar was to be continually attentive to the health of the body politic, and to remedy its diseases, shortcomings and evils so as to bring about perfection of life and assure its happiness, strength and prosperity.¹ The spirit of Akbar's rule was born of the belief that royalty is a light emanating from God. Hence among the many excellent qualities which flow from this light, the two foremost are : 'a parental attitude towards the subjects' and 'a large heart'.²

Position of the Sovereign and the nature of Mughal Government. Such being the nature and aims of the government the subjects had no hand in the creation and constitution of administrative institutions and agencies. Legally the king was the fountainhead of all authority. He was the supreme administrator, commander and judge, all in one. He was the source of the entire administrative law.

In theory the sovereign's authority could not be questioned even by the highest and mightiest person in the realm. It was limited by no worldly law or agency. Even in the event of differences among doctors of Islamic Law, regarding a religious matter or interpretation of the Law, the sovereign's judgment and opinion were final, provided they were not in conflict with the spirit of the *Shariat* (Canon Law).

In actual practice, however, the authority of the sovereign was circumscribed in many ways. Such a thing as an unlimited autocracy is a 'monstrosity' and has never existed anywhere. And the Mughal Sovereignty was no exception.

¹ The manner in which the king should ensure the achievement of this aim is expounded by Abul Fazl in his introduction to the *Ain-i-Akbari*, vide : Text pp-3-4, Blochmann's Tr, Abul Fazl's preface, pp-4-5.

² loc. cit.

The greatest and most important factor by which it was tempered, controlled and kept in proper balance was the force of popular feeling, the demand and needs of the people and the spirit of the age. The medium through which the sovereign kept himself in touch with the sentiments and interests of the people were ministers whose duty was, not only to execute the orders and decrees of the sovereign but to serve as a link between the sovereign and the subjects and to render to the former proper and beneficial counsel and guidance. Abul Fazl refers to this as one of the primary qualities of sovereignty when he says : 'In his wisdom the king will understand the spirit of the age, and shape his plans accordingly.'¹ Equally important was the restraint imposed by the established practices, customs and traditions of the people as well as the preceding political institutions. These had to be given due consideration so far as practicable. Thirdly, the sovereign had to depend on the quality and character of both his civil and military nobility on the one hand and the class of the theologians on the other. The influence of these classes would, of course, vary in proportion to their comparative capabilities.

These factors wielded a far reaching influence on the sovereign's authority. Nevertheless there was no constitutional agency of popular control over the policy or the administrative measures of the king except by petitioning or by rebellion, against tyranny and injustice, or for the sake of enforcing a popular demand.

But apart from their legal position and the actual limitations on the autocracy of the Mughal sovereigns, the nature of their government was moulded and determined by the characters of the sovereigns themselves. The Mughal rulers were well-known for their deep concern for the welfare and happiness of their subjects. It was not their object only to use the people and their resources for their personal enjoyment. They encouraged all the arts of peace.

¹ Biochmann and Phillott, p. 3.

Hence the Mughal government was an enlightened despotism.

Conditions of the Durability of Akbar's rule.—At the time of his accession the young king was not only surrounded by many foes but was also faced by the feelings of uncertainty and suspicion which the people naturally have against a new conqueror. The Mughals were regarded as usurpers. But Akbar, his very young age notwithstanding, did not take long in allaying all popular apprehensions and winning the confidence and good-will of his subjects. Early in the reign he commenced a policy of religious equality and of reconciling the warrior class of Hindus. He respected their time-honoured religious customs, although true to his character as an undaunted social reformer, he shrank not from launching forth a bold programme of social reforms even at the risk of offending the religious susceptibilities of the superstitious Hindus. But social reform was the crying need of the age and in his courageous, all-round programme of reforms Akbar had the sympathy and co-operation of the better minds among the people. In the field of administration Akbar fully respected the immemorial village autonomy. The innumerable little republics in the villages had constituted, since ancient times, the very core and foundation of government in India. The argus-eyed king realised the worth and value of every important community and institution, social, political or religious, and shaped the policy of his government accordingly. He was indeed a true representative of an age which was profoundly stirred by a spirit of rationalism and restoration to man his right of self-knowledge and self-determination.

Scope and functions of Mughal Government.—It would be idle and unhistorical to attempt to discover in the Mughal government as wide and comprehensive a scope of its activities as we find in the modern State of which the scope of operation has become far wider and tends to grow still wider so as to dominate practically the whole life of the social man.

The functions of the government were both constituent and ministrant. It provided for the protection of the country from external aggression and for the security of the life and property of its subjects. It raised its revenues by an efficient and unoppressive system, always keeping in view the well-being and prosperity of the peasantry as the primary concern of the government. It provided the best means of communication available in that age, built roads, sarais, wells, alms-houses, and planted trees for the comfort and convenience of merchants and travellers. Although there were no specialised departments of education, medical relief or even public works, in the modern sense, these functions of the government did not suffer by default. The government opened seminaries, hospitals and houses of charity in all important centres, and gave aids to many such institutions, maintained by private enterprise, of which there was a net-work over the whole country.

The policy of government analysed.—Thus the policy of Akbar may be clearly observed to consist of the following main factors:

1. Extending legal and civic equality, that is to say, *giving equal rights of citizenship to all subjects* of the state,¹ and thus creating confidence in the minds of the people.

2. Reconciliation and be-friending of the warrior class by following the policy of extending the hand of friendship to them all, and subjugating them by persuasion if possible, and by compulsion if necessary.

¹Scholars have curiously failed to grasp the true spirit and character of Akbar's religious policy. They have only assigned it the negative virtue of tolerance. His policy, however, as a closer study will unmistakably reveal, sprang from the ideal that every man who was a subject of the state, *was as a human being*, entitled to enjoy full rights of citizenship. It did not arise from that expediency which dictated toleration of non-Muslims as a necessary evil. Akbar's religious policy was the result of the moral conviction that all men are equal in the eye of God and consequently of his Deputy on Earth, viz., the king, while that of others, was a political necessity.

3. Ensuring the general progress and happiness of the people by establishing peace and security and an efficient and just administration.

4. Ameliorating the general lot of the people by introducing and encouraging social, economic and other necessary reforms.

5. Encouraging and patronising cultural and literary activities.

Sher Shah: How far precursor of Akbar.—A great deal of confusion and misconception has been caused by the recent tendency of certain writers to go so far in their laudation of Sher Shah's political achievements as to credit him with the initiation and rearing up of all those institutions, and policies, which, they opine and affirm, have come to be undeservedly attributed to Akbar. A proper and correct appraisal of Sher Shah's contribution towards the building up of Mughal institutions and the shaping of Akbar's policy, therefore, seems necessary.

Sher Shah's contribution may be seen in two directions, firstly, in establishing, in practice, though not in theory, the new principle of monarchy which the Turks (Mughals) imported into the land, and secondly, in restoring peace, and security and popular confidence by a benevolent and enlightened government and by making the administrative system efficient, stable and strong.

The Afghan monarchy was based on the conception that the kingdom was tribal property and also that every member of the tribe had a right to become king. Every one in the community was equal, the king being only a *primus inter pares*. Sher Shah did nothing to alter or modify this principle in the least. But as has been said above, by establishing a strong central government and making the authority of the ruler obeyed by even the mightiest Afghan chiefs he prepared the ground for the acceptance and popular recognition of the new principle of Turkish Monarchy. He yoked power and privilege to duty and responsibility. He made every Afghan chief clearly understand that with his privileges and authority went also equally important

duties and responsibilities, a loyal and worthy performance of which would be the *sine qua non* of his enjoying his privileges. Should any one, however high and mighty his office and station, be found remiss in the performance of duties, his remissness, whether conscious or unconscious, would bring on him the wrath of the king and would never go unpunished. Islam Shah carried this policy still further. He was a very strict disciplinarian and shattered the arrogance of Afghan nobility with a ruthless hand and even by imposing on them the rather humiliating ceremonial of doing obeisance to his slippers every week in an assembly of government officials. Thus the contribution of the two Sur monarchs consists in establishing and strengthening traditions of obedience and loyalty to the throne. But it should be remembered that they did nothing to alter or modify the fundamental conception of Afghan monarchy.

The second and more conspicuous contribution of Sher Shah was in repairing and breathing new life and vigour into the administrative structure which, on his accession to power, he found to be in a tottering condition without cohesion, unity or moral basis. His eagle eye missed no branch or aspect of government, however, insignificant, and his stupendous energy left none of them untouched. He repaired, improved, organised and perfected every single department of the state with admirable skill and expedition. Peace, security and prosperity in the land, and confidence in the intentions and ability of the king followed his foot-steps. His long personal experience joined to an adequate measure of innate political farsight did not allow his administrative policy to be marred by religious narrowness and intolerance. Thus he bequeathed to his successors the legacy of a thoroughly well-organised administrative structure and traditions of a just and tolerant policy, as the essential conditions of a durable and good government. But though a powerful and strong administrator, Sher Shah was no constructive political genius. It was not given to him to introduce any new or original schemes or ideas or try new experiments, far less a new philosophy of State. Nor did

his policy of government emerge from that deep moral and intellectual conviction which brought about a radical change in the policy of the government under Akbar. Sher Shah's religious toleration emerged solely from considerations of political expediency. There were two opposite courses open to him and two ideals to follow—either the policy that had been followed by Sikandar Lodi and the ideal of religious bigottedness and persecution of non-Muslims as enjoined by the Muslim divines and theologians, or the benevolent policy, on the whole, of Ghiyas-uddin Tughlaq and an ideal born of that far-sighted and enlightened statesmanship which will not allow the peace and happiness and good-will of the people nor the solidarity and strength of the State to be sacrificed at the altar of a narrow and parochial policy of religious fanaticism and intolerance. Sher Shah gave evidence of his statesmanship by electing to follow the latter course. The occasional incidents of religious intolerance displayed by Sher Shah, mostly during his wars, are by no means indications of the general policy of his government. Sher Shah, set up in effect, a model type of enlightened despotism, with a vigorous programme of national reconstruction. But though in practice he established an equitable and just administration, he never did nor could change the legal and theoretical basis of the State. In theory the non-Muslims still occupied a position of inferiority. They did not enjoy equal civic status with the Muslims. Thus Akbar's policy was grounded on a radically different conception of the State.

The Central Government—To begin with there was no alternative but for Akbar to adopt and work the system which he found in vogue at his accession. But he was not the man to rest on his oars. Very early in the reign when he was still quite young he introduced measures of religious and social reforms which showed clearly the originality of his mind and the breadth of his outlook. Later far reaching and elaborate improvements were made and new experiments tried from time to time in almost every branch of administration. We shall refer to these in their proper places.

The Central Structure of Akbar's government consisted of the king and his ministers. The council of ministers was by no means stable or legally binding on the king. In theory it was no more than an advisory body. It depended entirely on his sweet will for its existence. But both by historical experience and tradition and no less from political necessity, the existence of a body of ministers to assist and advise the ruler and to share his multifarious obligations, had become inevitable. No ruler could think of carrying on his administration successfully or even safely without the co-operation of the leading men of the country, viz., warriors, politicians, jurists, financiers and statesmen. And yet the king was the pivot of the whole machinery and the ultimate source of all earthly power which was limited only by the Law of the Qur'an. He had to keep his eye on every department of government.

Akbar followed a definite routine of work. He rose early in the morning and began by giving *gharokha darshan* to his subjects. This was followed by attending to the business of the House-hold department and the other state business. Some time was then devoted to the *harem* and to rest, after which the king transacted business in the *Diwan-i-Khas-o-Am*. Here, besides the above mentioned business, petitions were heard, salaries were fixed, promotions were granted, and jagirs were bestowed. Some days were allotted to judicial work, when appeals were heard or even initial cases tried and decided. At other times distinguished visitors, ambassadors and rulers from other countries were received in this darbar. At other times again, prisoners of war, defeated foes and subdued rebels were also presented in it. The business of each department was presented by the ministers and secretaries concerned.

Night time was reserved for the most important business including the war council. To these meetings were admitted only the most trusted and highest ministers. These meetings were held in a private chamber close to the bed-room of the king, which later came to be called *Ghusabkhana*. Thus there were three meetings daily held for transacting govern-

ment business, and the regularity which was observed by the king in holding them not only contributed greatly towards increasing the efficiency and strength of the government but also its popularity among the subjects.

The Council of Ministers and Chief Departments of State.

The principal ministers in Akbar's reign were,

1. The Wakil or Prime-minister.
2. The Vazir also called Diwan, or Finance minister.

3. The Mir Bakshi was responsible for a great variety of duties and functions, but was mainly concerned with the military department.

4. The Sadr-us-Sudur, was the highest ecclesiastical and judicial officer in the early part of Akbar's reign. He was also in charge of the department of charities, religious endowments and benefactions and was the supreme judge of the Empire. The office of the Chief Qazi seems to have been usually amalgamated with that of the Sadr-us-Sudur early in the reign. Later the duties of the Sadr were greatly curtailed by Akbar.

Besides these four highest ministers of the Mughal Empire certain other ministers enjoyed a status and importance only next to the former. The foremost of these was the *Mir-Samán* or *Khan-i-Saman*, who was like the Mayor of the Palace in European courts, and was in charge of the Household department which comprised not only the *harem* and its enormous contents but also of the various *karkhanas*, stores, the private expenditure of the Emperor and his kitchen and other sumptuary and sartorial arrangements.

Foreign elements in the Mughal government.—The Mughals were Turks by race and tradition, but Persian by training and culture. Having embraced Islam some centuries before they acquired the sovereignty of India, they had adopted the administrative system of the Abbasside Khalif at of Iraq, which served as a model for most

contemporary Muslim potentates. But in the military department the Turkish model was retained or more correctly speaking, adopted with the modifications and improvements which it had undergone in Persia, where it had been introduced as early as the 10th century. When they established themselves in India the Mughals found it necessary to retain and assimilate into their system many indigenous elements which had become rooted in the soil and had proved themselves most successful by long usage. Thus the administrative system of the Mughals may be said to represent an amalgam of Turko-Persian and Arabian elements in an Indian setting. The assimilation of the foreign elements may be observed in the principles and framework of the government, and the rules of taxation and the titles of the officials. But the details of the imported system were modified to suit local conditions. The existing Indian practice and the vast mass of Indian customary laws were respected so far as they did not run counter to the root principles of Islamic government. While the court and higher official circles were replicas of foreign Muslim Kingdoms, in the lower rungs of the official ladder and the village administration, the indigenous system and usages were allowed to continue. Similarly the old Indian land revenue system was recognised owing to its obvious advantages. But for the army the Turkish system served as the model.

The Vakil and the Divan.—The power and jurisdiction of the Vakil and Divan in the reign of Akbar cannot be stated with any degree of precision. No definite line of demarcation is possible to draw between the two, for the simple reason that the reign of Akbar was one of growth and evolution and of experimentation. Therefore we find that the scope of the functions and even the authority of the two ministers underwent considerable changes in course of time. The chief minister in the reign of Akbar came to be called Vakil (literally an agent or representative) because Bairam Khan who was the *Ataliq* of the young king, was in a way the substitute-king for nearly five years, and was hence called Vakil-i-Saltanat. His authority was greater even than that

of the grand Vazir as defined by the jurists of Islam. He appointed and dismissed the highest officers of the state and had full control over all the branches of administration, civil, military, executive and judicial. He exercised the power of capital punishment and indeed had assumed so much independence that he thought it unnecessary to refer to the king in any matter, treating him as a mere boy, not ripe enough to bear the onerous responsibilities of government.

But after the fall of Bairam Khan the young king asserted himself strongly. Shihab-ud-Din, governor of Dihli, was appointed to succeed him in 'political and financial affairs' but he was neither given the same authority nor honour. Since that time the vakils were changed at the will of the king, and some times very quickly. In the eighth year of reign the finance and revenue department was separated from the Vakil's charge and entrusted to a newly created minister known as *Diwan*. Occasionally the charge of the finance department was entrusted to two ministers of equal rank. For instance, Raja Todar Mal and Khwaja Shah Mansur were made joint Divans for some time about the 23rd, year of reign. We also find that at one time the same man acted as Vakil and Diwan once again, though for a short time only. Thus there were frequent changes in the scope of functions and duties entrusted to the two highest ministers. These changes were determined by a variety of causes and circumstances. Sometimes his absence from the capital was the occasion for the king to make a redistribution of portfolios just as he thought best. On other occasions, the abilities and qualifications of the persons concerned made redistribution necessary. To some extent the prestige and influence of the Vakil, just as of any other minister always varied according to the personal equation of the man, that is to say, his ability in governance and astuteness as a politician. The above account of the variations which the Vakil's office underwent would also suggest an equally conspicuous change in the jurisdiction and influence of that officer. In the early part of Akbar's reign the Vakil was of course very powerful and held an extensive portfolio including political,

financial and revenue affairs and a general supervision of all other departments. But after some time, as we have noted above, the revenue and finance portfolio was separated and entrusted to another minister of equal rank, called the Divan or Vazir and the result of this was that the vakils were eclipsed by the divans. Under Akbar's successors the vakils' office became more and more sinecure and inconsequential, although occasionally it was held by men who enjoyed great influence and importance due to their personal status. On the other hand, it happened that for long periods the vakils' office was allowed to remain vacant, just as in the reign of Jahangir. Even when the office was filled the vakil enjoyed high rank, prestige and honour but hardly any power.

The Divan or Vazir.—In the Mughal period the word divan came to be synonymous with Vazir after having passed through a vast range of meanings from the register of records maintained in the financial department itself, etc., to the man in charge of that department. The only difference between the two terms was that the term Vazir was used only for a minister of the king while the officer in-charge of revenue in the provinces as well as the financial managers of jagirdars and mansabdars too were all called divans.

During the reign of Akbar which lasted for half a century great improvements were effected in the organisation and working of the revenue department by his able financiers who held the post of divan. Among these the most notable were Muzaffar Khan, Shihab-uddin, Khwaja Shamshuddin and last but not the least, Raja Todar Mal, in some respects the greatest of them all. Since the time of the Abbaside Khalifas four ministers were regarded as the four pillars of the State and although their designations and even duties underwent many changes in course of time, the number of the chief ministers acquired a sort of traditional sanctity. The Divan was the most important of these four pillars on which the edifice of the state rested.

The Vazir issued orders to and supervised the work of the provincial divans. To his office were sent all papers relating to the revenue department, and he decided all matters

connected with the organisation, assessment, collection etc., of revenue. In Akbar's time the divans were also consulted by the emperor in matters of high state policy both of war and peace.

The Mir Bakhshi—*Bakhshi* is a term which seems to have been given wide currency¹ by the *Mughals*. Its origin is yet uncertain. Some scholars are of opinion that it is derived from the Buddhist word *Bhikshu* which in the Turkish language became *Bakhshi*, i.e., guru or perceptor.

The department of which the *Bakhshi* was the head had already become highly developed. Under the Sultans it was generally called the *Divan-i-arz*. It was mainly concerned with the recruitment, maintenance, training and inspection of the army besides the organising of marches of the army and the royal camp during a campaign. The *Bakhshi* did all this work in addition to signing and passing the acquittance rolls and salary bills of the soldiers and all rank-holders or mansabdars. It should be noted that because almost all services under the Mughal government were organised on a military basis all orders of appointment, including even those of the *Vakil*, *Vazir* or *Sadr* had to pass through the *Bakhshi*. All high officers coming from provinces were presented to the king by the *Bakhshi*. He also presented the new candidates for appointment as well as old hands together with their horses for inspection by the king. He was also an important member of the king's privy council which, as explained above, was held in the *Ghusalkhana*. Although the *Bakhshi* had charge of the whole army, the artillery was placed in charge of the *Mir Atish* or *Darogha-i-Topkhana*.

The Sadr-us-Sudur (Chief Sadr)—According to Muslim law it is the duty of the king to protect and propagate the *Shariat* or the religious law and to see that the subjects of the kingdom do not violate it. For this purpose it was necessary to appoint an officer who should be well versed in law. In the early Muslim states this officer was called

¹There is a reference to the existence of *Bakhshis* in the time of Sikandar Lodi—vide *Bandi*, Ethier, II, 457.

the Sadr or Sadr-i-jahan, as he was supposed to be the most distinguished scholar of the Shariat.

His duties as the religious head of the kingdom were threefold : (1) He was to keep a watch over the educational and moral progress of the people and to exercise a sort of censorship over the conduct of Musalmans. If he found any thing remiss in their conduct or any lapse from the performance of religious injunctions, he could either punish them himself or advise the king to do so. (2) As the greatest authority on Islamic law he was also the head of the judiciary. The officers of this department throughout the empire were appointed either directly by him or on his recommendation. (3) He was the head of the Department of Charities. It was on his recommendation that suitable stipends, in the form of *suyurgahs* or in cash were granted to deserving persons who either led a life of piety and seclusion or were devoted to *belles lettres*.

According to the 'Ain, the following four classes of men were considered to be entitled to such grants and charities, (1) enquirers after wisdom who have withdrawn from all worldly occupation and spend their whole time in search of knowledge.

(2) Such as toil and practise self-denial, and have renounced the society of men.

(3) Such as are weak and poor.

(4) honourable men of gentle birth who from want of knowledge are unable to earn their livelihood.¹

Under the Muslim law the principal qualification for a sadr was knowledge of the sacred law, but under Akbar a greater emphasis was laid on his being a man of liberal outlook and views so that he may be at peace with all classes of men.² In the pre-Mughal period the sadr enjoyed great authority and dignity. It was the sadr, whose edict legalised the *julus* or accession of a new king. Under Akbar too some of the early sadrs, especially Shaikh Abdun-

¹ Blochmanns Tr. of 'Ain, New Ed., revised by D. C. Phillott, p. 278.

² Loc. cit.

nabi, wielded great influence and power. They were the highest law officers of the empire. They were in charge of all land devoted to ecclesiastical and benevolent purposes, and possessed an almost unlimited authority of conferring such lands, independently of the king. But when the emperor discovered that they were all open to great corruption and bribery, he clipped their powers drastically. But perhaps the more important cause which led to the downfall of the sadr and indeed of the entire Ulema class was their extremely narrow and intolerant views and their utter incapacity to rise up to and co-operate with the emperor's liberal policy. They could not swallow his policy of widening the scope of charities and grants so as to include all classes of men. To attain this object Akbar deprived the Shaikhs and Sadrs of making any grants themselves. They were empowered only to enquire into deserving cases and commend them for the acceptance of the emperor. Another step by which the powers of Sadr were reduced was the creation of provincial sadrs in 1581. A. D.

As has already been mentioned, under Akbar the Sadr seems to have also acted usually as head of the judiciary. There is no reference to the existence of a separate Chief Qazi under Akbar. His power in this sphere too, seems to have substantially suffered by the personal attention of the Emperor to judicial matters and his holding weekly courts for that purpose. The Shariat conceives the Khalifa to be the final authority in judicial matters also. But the practical problem arising from the fact that most Islamic rulers were not sufficiently conversant with the technicalities of Islamic law led to the necessity of appointing a person learned in the Law as the Chief Qazi of the realm. The jurists also felt obliged to lay down the appointment of a qazi as essential. References here and there are to be found of the existence of the Mir Adl and Mufti, but neither of the two seems to have been a regular officer. The Muhtasib who is also mentioned by the jurists as an important official of the Muslim state did not exist under Akbar. The duties of the Muhtasib were rather wide and comprised those performed by municipal and police authorities in modern times. The

Kotwal was more or less the substitute of the Muhtasib, during the Mughal period. The kotwal of a sarkar also presided over the criminal courts. His criminal jurisdiction will be discussed in its proper place, in this chapter. In addition to the sadr the king used to appoint a qazi-i-askar, or the qazi of the army. He was assisted in some cases by a mir'-adl.

The law by which justice was administered.—Civil law so far applied to the Muslims was entirely based on Islamic law. Criminal law was the same for all the subjects of the state, irrespective of their persuasion or community. So also the Muslim law of contract and evidence was applied to the Hindus as well. In cases of inheritance, marriage and the like, Hindu law was applied to the Hindus just as the Muslim law was applied to the Muslims. The application of Islamic law was further limited by leaving the ancient organisation with all its Hindu institutions intact.¹

Akbar had taken a further step in ordering cases between the Hindus to be decided by the Hindus and not by the qazis. But the king and his Muslim law officers seem to have tried civil cases also excepting those concerned with inheritances, marriage etc., Also cases in which one party was Muslim and the other non-Muslim were tried by the judicial officers. In the law of evidence, particularly in criminal cases, much discretion was left to the presiding officers to choose for themselves the manner and method of getting at the truth.

The Mir Saman—Under Akbar the Mir Saman did not occupy a rank among the highest ministers. Subsequently his rank and dignity seem to have gradually appreciated. We learn from the 'Ain that all the officers of the household department, viz., the Mir Saman, the Nazir-i-Buyutat, (the Superintendent of the Imperial workshops) the Diwan-i-Buyutat (The Accountant of the Imperial workshops) were under the Diwan or Vazir.

The Buyutat comprised the state workshops and stores. The department dealt with the manufacture and storage of every article required by the emperor, from pearls and precious stones to armaments, from horses, camels, elephants etc., for the army, to beasts of burden, as also the camp equipment of the king.

*Other officers attached to the Central Government—*Among other officers of junior rank attached to the Imperial Government are mentioned by Abul Fazl the following :

The Mir Ala,¹ the Muhtar,² the Bakhshi,³ the Barbegi,⁴ the Qurbegi,⁵ the Mir Tozak,⁶ the Mir Bahri,⁷ the Mir-ban,⁸ the Mir-Manzil,⁹ the Khwan Salar,¹⁰ the Munshi,¹¹ the Qush-begi,¹² the Akhta begi.¹³

*Nature and conditions of services—*Almost the whole of Upper Government services were organised on a military basis, that is to say their status, salaries, promotions and other conditions were adjudged and governed by military standards. It would, however, be wrong to conclude from this, as some foreign writers have done, that the paramount aim and object of the government was military and their chief business was that of recruiting forces and using them to keep the people under subjection and to realise the revenue. The aim of the Mughal government,

1 Perhaps an officer incharge of the Emperor's private purse.
2 Keeper of the seal.
3 Paymaster of the court.
4 He was also called Mir Arz and was incharge of petitions and of presenting people at court.
5 Bearer of the Imperial insignia.
6 Master of ceremonies.
7 Admiral and Harbour Master-General.
8 Superintendent of the Imperial forests.
9 Quarter Master-General of the Court. Akbar's Court was frequently on the move.

10 Superintendent of the Imperial kitchen.
11 Private Secretary.
12 Superintendent of Avaries.
13 Superintendent of the Stud.

and especially that of Akbar was certainly far more humane and nobler than this. The principal services of the state were organised on a military basis just as some important services, like the medical is and till lately the Engineering service was, governed by the military department under the British government in this country.

The subordinate staff, including clerks, office superintendents and the like were not recruited by the military department. They did not hold any mansabs or jagirs, and were paid cash salaries.

As regards qualifications for appointments to different posts no specific rules existed. Nor is it possible to find in the chronicles any information about the conditions of leave, pensions or retirements. Occasionally we find such indications of the qualifications demanded, as those mentioned by Abul Fazl in the case of divan, "He must be a skilful arithmetician, active in business, etc." Similarly it may be presumed, reasonable qualifications were expected of the lower officers. In theory all the superior appointments depended on the will of the emperor. In actual practice, however, the emperor invariably consulted his advisers and ministers, and only competent persons of proven worth and fitness were appointed. An elaborate formal procedure was followed in each case. Merit was in general the criterion for preferment, although there were certain exceptions. The lower appointments were made on the same general principle. Meritorious service in any branch never went unrewarded, in one shape or another, nor did inefficiency or deliberate dereliction of duty escape suitable punishment.

The responsibilities of Ministers and check on their powers.—As we have stated above although the yakil was in theory the chief minister of the empire under Akbar, in actual practice the Divan came to occupy the most important position and enjoyed the highest status. He may, however, be a mansabdar of much inferior rank and hence draw a much a lower salary. There are cases in which the Divan held only the rank of 1500 or 2000 zat. This

showed that the salary and rank of a person would not prevent his elevation to the highest post in the empire if he was found fit to hold it. His distinction was the office he held and not his rank.

Next in status to the chief Divan was the Mir-Bakhshi. By the very nature of his duties the Bakhshi would have had to work constantly in co-operation and co-ordination with the Divans' office and many important papers had to be signed by both the ministers in order to be considered complete. The minister next in status mentioned by Abul Fazl was the Sadr.

Due restraint on the use of their powers by the higher officers was exercised in a variety of ways. Firstly, the ministers had mostly to work jointly and not severally. Secondly, whenever the emperor felt the necessity of tightening the control he used to appoint certain officers not connected with the Central government to watch the administration of any department.¹ Thirdly, Akbar started the practice of opening the king's councils to officers and nobles other than ministers, in which all matters concerning general administration, military affairs, and topics of more general and academic interest were discussed. This practice also exercised a great check on the powers and policies of ministers.

The Military System.—The army of the Sultans of Delhi since Firoz Shah (Tughlaq) was mostly composed of a rabble indifferently recruited with no regular inspection, discipline or training. Sher Shah had therefore, to re-organise the military too like other departments of government. He reformed and regularised recruitment and re-introduced the branding system and muster roll, i.e., inspection of troops. His total army consisted of over three lakhs of cavalry, one lakh infantry, five thousand elephants and a very strong artillery.

The *mansabdari* system too seems to have existed in a rudimentary stage, but it was confined to officers only. *Mansabdars* of between 5000 to 20,000 horses are frequently

¹ Vide Ibn Hisham, 296.

purpose of revenue collection.

The *mansabdars* were divided into sixty grades from ten to 10,000, but *mansabs* of above 5000 were reserved for princes royal. At first Akbar had devised only one class or grade of the various *mansabs*. But towards the end of his reign he introduced three grades in each of the ranks (*mansabs*) from 5000 downwards with a view to making further distinctions in the status of mansabdars without increasing the number of their contingents or other obligations of service. This further gradation was made by means of introducing an additional rank known as Sawar, the original one being called Zat. Officers whose Sawar rank was equal to their Zat rank were of first grade, those whose Sawar rank was equal to half or more were of 2nd grade, and those of whose Sawar rank was less than half of his Zat belonged to the third grade. There was also some difference in their emoluments. The significance of Zat and Sawar is a highly controversial question and still remains undecided and obscure. But the view that the Sawar rank was introduced to indicate only a distinctive honour carrying no obligation to maintain the number of horse indicated by it, seems to be nearer the truth than any other view.

The main arm of the Mughal Army was the cavalry. The second important arm was the artillery. The infantry comprised a heterogeneous mass of matchlockmen, archers, swordsmen, lance-bearers, etc., and all manner of menial servants attached to the regular troops. The Mughals had no navy. A flotilla of boats was, however, maintained to ply in the rivers, mainly with the purpose of transporting armies during the rainy season when many rivers were in spate and greatly hampered the movement of land forces making it altogether impossible.

In addition to this, a calculation of the capacity of each province to supply cavalry, that is to say, real fighting force, as well as, infantry, elephants etc. was made probably on the basis of population. These forces were in the nature of a militia and not a standing army. Their number amount-

ted to nearly 4 lakhs of cavalry and 42 lakhs of infantry.¹

Supervision and control of the army.—To maintain a high standard of efficiency and loyalty in the army suitable steps were taken. First Bitikchis (clerks) of the army department were entrusted with the work of preparing descriptive rolls of the soldiers. Their marks of identification, size, etc. as well as their residence, parentage, race, were all to be registered.

The horses were to be branded. After trying a number of signs for branding, finally numerals were adopted. The soldiers had to gather regularly at a muster roll for inspection by the Bakhshi or some other superior officer.

Nature of Mughal services.—Practically all services, excepting the ecclesiastical and religious posts were organised on a military basis and were recruited, paid and controlled according to the conditions of the military department. But that does not imply that the spirit of the government was military. A modern counterpart of these services is to be seen in the medical department in which the Imperial grade services all belong to the military department, but in peace-times, the members of the service are translated to districts to serve as civil surgeons. Exactly in the same manner all civilians were legally military men, but in normal times they worked in the different civil departments of the state.

The Revenue System.—According to Abul Fazl the revenue raised by the king was in the nature of *wages* of the king in consideration for the service of administration and protection that he rendered to the people. While certain religious taxes, either imported by the early Muslim rulers from the Persian system or imposed by them on non-Muslims, continued to be levied until Sher Shah's reign, most of them were abolished by Akbar soon after his accession. Land revenue was the principal source of state income. But there were other sources of income such as

¹ For a full discussion of this question see 'Provincial Government of the Mughals', pp. 259 et seq.

customs, internal transit duties, ferry taxes, octroi collected in important cities only, mints, indemnities and monopolies, abwabs or illegal cesses enforced by local officers. Many of these including even port duties were remitted by Akbar. Besides these, presents, fines, and war-booty were also sources of some income.

System of Assessment.—Before Sher Shah's time two systems of land revenue assessment obtained viz., sharing (Batai, Ghalla Bakhshi) and sharing by estimate (Kankut, Muqti or Nasq)¹. Sher Shah introduced the Zabli, or measurement system wherever possible.

Under the incapable successors of Islam Shah Suri the system of Sher Shah also considerably suffered although the intrinsic durability of his structure kept the essentials of the system alive. Upon Akbar devolved the task of reorganising and perfecting it in every detail and the young king was fully alive to the importance of finance as the basis and prop of the state. The first twenty four years of the reign therefore witnessed a series of experiments and improvements, with a view to attaining an assessment so perfect as to render the estimate of crops as accurate as possible and to minimise the chances of oppression or defalcation by the public servants and fraud by the cultivators. Finally the incessant efforts of the emperor and his financial experts established what has been commonly misunderstood as the ten-year system, but was really a schedule of rates based on the average yield of the preceeding ten years.

The start was made by continuing Sher Shah's system as described in detail by Abul Fazl in the Ain. As stated above Sher Shah had brought the greater part of Hindustan under a system of measurement which was probably repeated every season. The area under cultivation in respect of different crops having been ascertained, certain scheduled rates were applied to

¹For a full discussion of the significance of these terms see Prov. Govt., App. B.

them and the revenue realised accordingly. The schedules of the average yield of each holding were prepared by dividing all kinds of crops into three broad classes, good, middling and bad and working out their mean. In this way the average yield per bigha of each crop was worked out and one-third of this average was the state-demand. The share of the government might then be commuted into cash at the current rates.

But in the actual working of the system a great confusion had arisen and hence as early as 1565 Muzaffar Khan Turbati was instructed to reform the system so as ensure greater honesty in realisations and more equitable and fair treatment to the ryot. But soon it was realised that the system was still open to many abuses and gave a rather free hand to the government employees to oppress the people. Consequently in 1568 Shihab-uddin, Governor of Malwa, was appointed Vazir to reorganise the system. He tried another experiment, though only as a temporary measure. The yearly survey and assessment was done away with and the system called Nasq was established over the whole empire. This system implied a method of fixing the shares of the peasant and the government by a general appraisal of the crops while it was still standing.

A third time in 1570-71, Muzaffar Khan Turbati and Raja Todar Mal prepared a revised assessment of the land revenue based on estimates framed by the local qanungos and checked by ten superior qanungos at head quarters. "Thus," to quote Edwards and Garrett, "for the first time since the establishment of the Mughal power, was the local knowledge of the old hereditary revenue officials employed in determining the state demand."

The next experiment was the famous systematic survey of Gujrat carried out by Raja Todar Mal in 1573. This came to be known as Todar Mal's Bandobast. It formed the basis of the survey system over various other parts of the empire. Todar Mal by thus reducing to a negligible minimum the possibility of abuse of power by the revenue officials, rendered a lasting service to the peasantry. He

amply deserves the appreciation of Lane-Poole : 'There is no name in medieval history more renowned in India to the present day than that of Todar Mal, and the reason is that nothing in Akbar's reforms more nearly touched the welfare of the people than the great financier's reconstruction of the revenue system.'

The Karori System.—Akbar, however, in his ambition to bring the whole empire under a uniform system tried another experiment in 1575-76. A fresh assessment was made and the empire, with the exception of Bihar, Bengal and Gujrat, was divided into equal fiscal units each yielding a revenue of one crore of dams or 250,000 rupees. This experiment was found impracticable and was soon abandoned, although the title of *karori* continued to be used for a collector of government dues.

The final and most enduring arrangement was the so-called 'Ten Year Settlement', which was introduced in the 24th year of reign in those parts of the empire which could be brought under the survey or the *Zabti* system. In the remaining parts the other two viz., *Ghalla Bakhshi* in its several forms, and *Nasq*, continued to prevail. A word may now be said in explanation of each of the three systems.

Zabti—This was also called *Paimaish* (meaning measurement or survey). As stated above, schedules were prepared of the average yield of each holding with respect to each crop grown on it, on the basis of an average of the produce of previous ten years. The lands under actual cultivation were then surveyed and records prepared for every crop, and one-third of the average of each crop recorded in government schedules was realized from the peasant. In this system the peasant knew what he had to pay and there was no chance either for him to deceive the government or for the officials to oppress him. *Ghalla-bakhshi*, also called *Batai* or *Bhaoli*, and later *Ghalla gismi*, was the simplest and easiest to work. Hence it naturally left enough loopholes for abuse of privilege and power on both sides. In it the crop, when harvested, was divided

between the peasant and the agents of the government either by making three equal heaps roughly or by actual weighing.

Nasq—A great obscurity hangs round the exact implication of this system, and it has occasioned a good deal of controversy among scholars. But as I have tried to show elsewhere *Nasq*, at any rate, during Akbar's reign, was synonymous with *muqtei* and *kankut* which signified a method of compounding or arriving at an agreement between the peasant and the government by means of a general estimate of the expected yield of the crop while still standing. Once this was agreed upon by both the parties, the government could realise one-third of the yield agreed upon¹.

Provision against unforeseen mishaps—Should any sudden calamity, such as frost or drought or too much rain, or insect pest, destroy the crops in any locality, a report of the same was to be made duly endorsed by responsible officers, and on its basis remissions of revenue were made in proportion to the injury or loss sustained by the victim.

Sundry reforms concerning the agencies of the revenue administration—The surveyors and measurers of land previously worked under a contract system, receiving 58 dams for measuring 200 bighas at least in *rabi*, and 250 in *kharif* season. This was found unsatisfactory. In order to insure greater honesty and accuracy Akbar raised their wages to one dam per bigha. But at the same time all sorts of arbitrary imposts called *jihat*, *faruat*, (i.e., tax on manufactures, and extra-collections) were strictly forbidden.

Next came the reform and standardisation of linear and superficial measures. The various kinds of *gaz* which were in use previously were all abolished and a standard *gaz* of 41 digits was established all over. The *tanab* or *jarib* and the *bigha* were similarly made to conform to a fixed standard.

¹See 'Prov. Government of the Mughals', pp. 300-309 and Appendix B, p. 453 et. seq.

In order to avoid inaccuracy in survey, tanabs made of bamboos joined by iron rings were substituted in place of the flexible hampen or rope jaribs.

Classification of Lands—The measurement of land having been carried out, the next important step in assessment was the classification of lands. This was based on the continuity or otherwise of cultivation, and divided the land under four classes: (1) Polaj, land continuously cultivated, (2) Paranti, land left fallow for a year or two in order to recover its strength. (3) Chachar, land that has lain fallow for three or four years. (4) Banjar, land uncultivated for five years or more.

One-third of the average yield of the first two classes was the land revenue to be paid. Chachar and banjar land were progressively taxed until in the 5th year they became as polaj.

As the revenue was assessed on the basis of the actual yield of each crop and was not in the form of a money-rent or tax fixed for a certain period or for ever, the produce of each crop and consequently the amount of tax to be realised varied in respect of each. Abul Fazl has given the rates of many kinds of crops worked out for a period of nineteen years, on polaj land. This points to the existence of a 'gigantic statistical office', to use the words of V. A. Smith.

The Incidence of taxation—The government share of the revenue was fixed at one-third of the actual yield and the peasants were given the option of paying either in cash or kind, excepting either the decayable crops such as vegetables or fruits, or the finer kinds such sugar cane, poppy or indigo for which cash payments were obligatory. 'There was no eviction for default', as is affirmed by Sarkar,¹ 'no starvation of the peasantry (except when there was a local famine, with no communication' with the more fruitful parts of the country)'. Country-wide and man-made famines, which are a feature of modern times were unknown in those times. 'In the early and medieval times, the peasant was left in his

¹ Mughal Administration. (3rd edition) p. 78.

holding and left with enough to feed him (except when the entire harvest failed). The old custom of payment by the division of the crop was an advantage to him, as the payment depended on the actual harvest of the year, unlike the modern money rent which is an amount fixed irrespective of the yield in different years.' The land under the Mughal rulers was regarded as the property of the peasant and was never claimed by the sovereign to be his, as has been wrongly supposed by most writers on the subject. The land revenue was in the nature of a tax, and not rent.

Nature of Akbar's settlement.—Concerning the nature of the settlement made by Todar Mal, a most learned revenue expert, Mr. Wilton Oldham says; "From a careful perusal of the 'Ayeen Akbery,' I think it certainly proved that Akbar's revenue system was *ryot waree*; and that the actual cultivators of the soil were the persons responsible for the annual payment of the fixed revenue."¹ 'The 'settlement' was not made either with farmers of the revenue, as was afterwards done in Bengal by Lord Cornwallis, or with the headmen of the villages, as in the modern settlements of the United Provinces.'² The headman's part was that he was expected to assist in the assessment and collection of revenue and whenever he did so he was allowed a remuneration of $\frac{1}{40}$ th of the produce or its value. In special cases he was rewarded according to the measure of his services.³

Revenue collection in assigned lands.—Although Akbar at one time tried to resume all *jagirs* and convert them into reserved lands, he found that complete abolition of *jagirs* was not possible. On the other hand the method of assigning *jagirs* carrying an income equal to the remuneration of the assignee was an easier way of disbursement of salaries. But the assessment and fixing of the revenue due from all lands was made directly by the government and the assignee, whatever his position or *mansab*, was authorised

¹ Memoir of the District of Ghazipur, Part I, p. 82.

² V. A. Smith's Akbar, the Great Mughal, p. 375.

³ Jarrett, pp. 44-48.

to realise through his own agents, not a farthing more than the amount fixed by the government.

Condition of the peasantry under Akbar's settlement.—Some foreign writers, Smith being the most conspicuous of them, hold the opinion that 'so much seems clear that the assessment was severe, and that large remissions must have been necessary in unfavourable times. There is absolutely no warrant for this statement. Smith approves of the creation of a landlord class under the modern government, whose existence was not recognised by 'Akbar, and which step has, he avers, encouraged great development of cultivation. This is, however, highly doubtful, if not altogether baseless. He then proceeds to make a still more unwarranted and extremely unfair statement, viz., that Akbar left the cultivator as much of the crops as was considered necessary for tolerable existence, and took the rest for the State.' We have no space here to discuss this question at length, but considering the general economic condition of the village population under the Zamindari and Taluqdari systems which are the creation of modern times, there can be no two opinions about the obvious fact that their financial condition could not have been worse than it has become since the introduction of this system, and that under Akbar the peasants were infinitely more well provided for and well-fed than now.

The judiciary.—It has been already stated that the king was the final judicial authority and the highest court of appeal. Next to him was the Chief Sadr who was also Chief Qazi usually. Under them in the provinces, sarkars, parganahs, towns and even in important villages there used to be Qazis. In the province the Governor and the Divan both exercised some judicial authority but probably their courts were only appellate courts for criminal and revenue cases respectively.

In the sarkar the Kotwal acted as magistrate trying criminal cases and the Qazi tried civil and religious cases. In the parganah, besides the Qazi, the Shiqqdar as well as the Amil exercised some semi-police cum judicial powers over

criminals and dangerous and lawless persons.

A detailed account of the legal procedure may not be given here. It may suffice, however, to observe that all necessary steps were taken to arrive at the truth.

The Mughal system like all other Medieval systems of justice was comparatively of a rough and ready kind. Nor was it backed by a legal system of such ponderous learning and volume as the present one. Both the law and the judicial system were much simpler. This circumstance had its merits as well as demerits. It gave much latitude and discretion to the judges, and was much quicker. In the hands of corrupt and unscrupulous officers such powers would naturally cause considerable injustice and oppression. This was, however, minimised by the various devices of check and control which worked quite efficiently under strong and benevolent rulers, and the government officers were deterred from doing injustice by the fear of dire consequences, should the superior officers or the emperor come to know of their misconduct. The efficiency of the system therefore varied according to the capability, prestige and watchfulness of the ruler. On the other hand such a system was bound to be more human and flexible, not rigid and mechanical. While it afforded more chance for injustice and oppression, it also offered sufficient scope for the play of the human elements of sympathy, understanding and even mercy. But the intrinsic merit of the system was that it did not suffer from the notorious 'law's delays' of the present system to which must be added the equally notorious and insufferable corruption of the law-courts and the crushing expensiveness of the whole process, which only serve to ruin the winner and loser both. Another noticeable feature of the Mughal judicial system was that unlike the present system it did not provoke and encourage litigation, and hence the volume of litigation in those days was comparatively far less.

In the event of high public servants being the accused, investigation was carried out by commissions consisting of high grandees of state especially appointed for the purpose.

There were regular prisons for criminals known as Bandi-khanas. The treatment of criminals in prisons was quite human and in some cases all necessary things for a comfortable life could be obtained as we know from the accounts of contemporary European travellers.

Education and Public health.—Traditionally the Muslim rulers did not directly concern themselves with the education of the people with the exception of encouraging and helping learned men and their seminaries by giving them pensions and grants. Occasionally some colleges and schools were also opened by the king in important towns. But Akbar's exceptionally enlightened mind made an earnest effort to lay down rules of teaching and a course of subjects which he regarded as essential for every man to study, including the three R's, history, medicine etc. This curriculum was adopted in schools and the Hindus and Muslims were seen for the first time to study secular subjects side by side under the same teacher.

Besides the public buildings which constituted the most important and expensive branch of public works, Akbar was responsible also for the construction of a number of works of public utility and benefit. Among these may be mentioned roads, tanks, wells, reservoirs, lakes, public and medical baths, hospitals both for men and animals, where medicines were distributed free, dams, ferries, bridges, walls and gates. There was also a system of posts and although we do not know whether the government department could be utilised for carrying private dak, we know for certain that it was transmitted without obstruction or difficulty, by means of well-organised private agencies.

CHAPTER V

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE MUGHALS

(PROVINCIAL)

Evolution of the Provinces

Political divisions prior to Muslim conquest—On the eve of Muslim conquest India, politically viewed, bore the aspect of a congeries of mutually warring but otherwise stagnant and unprogressive states. Although the Ghaznavides annexed only the province of Lahore leaving the Hindu chiefs of the interior an opportunity to modify their political ideals and outlook they remained exactly where they had been for centuries and after the lapse of close upon a century and three quarters, the Ghurids found them no better than the Ghaznavi invaders had done, and the self-same story of several invasions year after year was repeated, with the only difference that the Ghurids made their conquest permanent by founding the Sultanate of Dihli. Almost the entire Northern India passed under the sway of the conquerors within a little over a decade, but it was conquered piecemeal by his slave military leaders who came in the train of Shihabuddin Ghuri. The Southern half of India, however, including the Deccan and far South, was overrun and mostly subjugated towards the end of the 13th century, while the conquest of whatever remained was completed by Muhammad bin Tughlaq.

Political divisions under the Dilhi Sultanate—The Sultanate of Dilhi thus, within nearly a century and a quarter came to hold sway over the whole country from the extreme north to the south and from west to east. In its early stages the empire was a mere collection of semi-independent provinces each under the rule of the warrior who had conquered it or his successors owning a nominal allegiance to the Sultan. Subsequently the Khalji and Tughlaq Sultans essayed to organise the Empire and to divide it into a num-

ber of provinces, variously known as Tarafs, Iqtas, Wilayats, etc. These divisions were presumably determined only by considerations of expediency or geographical convenience. Their boundaries were seldom marked out with any degree of precision. When the Delhi Sultanate broke up, the ancient natural divisions which more or less represented the provinces of the empire, became independent kingdoms. The remnant of the Sultanate was only one of these having lost all her former prowess and predominance. Some of these kingdoms became the nuclei of the future provinces of the Mughal Empire, such as Gujrat, Malwa, Bengal, Khandesh. It should be noted, however, that in the north the sway of the Sultans was limited to the confines of the plain of Hindustan, while the hill region of the north remained entirely independent and outside the empire.

Condition prior to Mughal conquest—The kingdoms which existed at that time fall into four well defined groups. Enclosed within the valleys of the Himalayas there was a ring of ancient chiefships which, until the Mughal conquest remained entirely unaffected by the politics of Hindustan. Their geographical position proved their salvation. The foremost of these was the ancient kingdom of Kashmir whose political boundaries were clearly and permanently defined by nature. It had ever retained its distinctive identity even when it was a part of the empires of Asoka and Kanishka.

Muslim rule was established in Kashmir by the usurper Shah Mirza of Swat, in 1339 A.D. The kingdom, however, still maintained an isolated and independent existence for nigh on two centuries and a half when it was conquered and finally annexed by Akbar in 1589. Besides Kashmir, the largest and the most enchanting of them all, there are other valleys enclosed by the Himalayan ranges, such as the Hazara, Swat and Bajaur, Kangra, Kullu, Siwalak and Dehra Valleys, the Garhwal-Rohilkhand Valley; Nepal, Bhutan, Darjeeling and Assam Valleys. Every one of these valleys has been since time immemorial the cradle of independent kingdoms which became the nuclei of separate political

divisions whenever the whole region came under the rule of one king. Thus the whole Himalayan belt represented a series of kingdoms which remained autonomous even during the Mughal period and successfully resisted all attempts to conquer them, although some of them gradually acknowledged nominal suzerainty of the Mughals.

South of this region the plains of 'Hindustan', excluding Rajputana, were parcelled out among Muslim Kingdoms. Commencing from Sindh and Multan in the extreme west and making a North easterly curve, this group comprised Lahore, North-east of Multan, practically independent; then south east of Lahore the sorry remnant of the Sultanate of Delhi, and further east, Bengal. Along the southern boundary of the plains of Hindustan lay the kingdoms of Khandesh, Gujrat and Malwa, besides the minor chiefships of the hilly region of central India, known as Bundelkhand and Bagelkhand. Between these two belts of Muslim kindoms on the western side, lay Rajputana, like a huge wedge, as it were, 'deathless and indomitable', itself divided among a number of chiefships but rallying round the leadership of the house of Chittor which had, at that time, risen to the premier position among them.

It is not easy to determine the precise limits of these kingdoms and provinces because their boundaries were constantly shifting. The provinces of Sindh, Multan and the Punjab, virtually independent, covered the desert west of Rajputana up to the mouth of the Indus, including the region between the Indus and Jhelum, up to a little above Multan, as far as the frontier of Gakkhar land. The Punjab or the province of Lahore was bounded on the west by the upper course of the Indus stretching eastwards as far as the Sutlaj which formed its eastern boundary. On its north lay Kashmir and on the south Rajputana. Next to Lahore lay the much dwindled Dihli Empire, representing the dominions proper of the Lodi sultans. The Lodis had succeeded in recovering the country as far as Bihar in the east, Marwar in the West and Chanderi and Raisin in the south. The last addition was

Gwalior made by Ibrahim Lodi. But this was the climax to be followed soon by decay and disruption. Lahore became independent under Daulat Khan Lodi, and Bihar under Darya Khan Lohani whose son and successor Bahadur Khan annexed the country as far as Awadh and Katehar. Bengal was already independent, its rulers having combined Lukhnauti, Sunargaon and Satgoan into a single kingdom. Thus the boundaries of these provinces and kingdoms were determined as much by geographical conditions, as by the ambitions of the chiefs to extend their possessions as far as possible irrespective of any other consideration.

The boundaries of the centrally situated provinces of the Sultanate, such as Sambhal, Badaun, Agra, very likely followed the rivers wherever possible; yet it is not possible to determine them with any degree of precision.

Political divisions under the Mughals and their basis.—The Empire of Babar after Panipat and Khanwah comprised very extensive territories, stretching from the line of the Oxus in the north-west as far as Bihar in the east. The tribal area, however, still remained independent. On the north his sway was limited to the plain while the southern boundary was marked roughly by a line joining Bayana, Ranthambhor, Gwalior and Chanderi.

No modification or redistribution of the administrative divisions was made either by Babar or Humayun. Nor is there any specific mention of a re-distribution of provincial and other administrative divisions under Sher Shah.¹ But it is certain that a reorganisation of the political divisions, that is to say, subahs, sarkars and parganahs, etc., was brought about under him on a rational though mainly geographical basis. The provinces of Agra, Multan, Lahore, Sambhal, (the modern Rohilkhand) Jaunpur, Malwa, Bihar, and Bengal are clearly mentioned in the chronicles. There is no reason to suspect that any redistribution was attempted by Islam Shah. In fact Sher Shah's organisation was pre-

¹ For a discussion of the fantastic theories of Qaunrgo in this connection see the author's 'Provincial Govt. of the Mughals,' Chapter III.

served and followed until Akbar undertook a redistribution of the empire into 12 Subahs, in 1581. Although this re-organisation might have involved frequent alterations of boundaries, especially in the case of sub-divisions, the basis of division was, as is clearly stated by Abul Fazl, only geographical arising from considerations of administrative convenience. "His Majesty" says A. F., "apportioned the empire into twelve divisions, to each of which he gave the name of subah and distinguished them by the appellation of the *tract of the country or its capital city*. These were Allahabad, Agra, Awadh, Ajmer, Ahmedabad, Bihar, Bengal, Dihli, Kabul, Lahore, Multan, Malwa; and when Berar, Khandesh and Ahmadnagar were conquered, their number was fixed at fifteen." When subsequent annexations took place Kashmir and Qandahar were included in Kabul, Sindh or Thatta in Multan and Orissa in Bengal, by which the sizes of these three provinces were greatly enlarged, but the total number of the subahs remained the same.

No territorial additions were made under Jahangir excepting the Kangra district which was probably added to the province of Lahore. Under Shah Jahan the whole of the Nizam Shahi dominions (excepting Balaghat), Berar and a part of Telingana were annexed (1633-36). These three together with Khandesh were constituted into the province of the Deccan. But they continued to be treated as sub-provinces, their governors being responsible to the Imperial Government through the Viceroy of the Deccan. This, however, meant no addition to the number of provinces as Ahmadnagar was already a province under Akbar¹. But the former sub-provinces of Thatta, Orissa and Kashmir being treated as separate provinces brought up the number to eighteen under Shah Jahan. With the temporary and nominal addition of Golconda and Bijapur towards the end

¹The Nizam Shahi capital was shifted from Ahmadnagar to Daultabad in 1609 and subsequently to Aurangabad. For a full discussion of the growth of the Mughal provinces see the author's 'Provincial Government of the Mughals', Chapter III.

of Aurangzeb's reign the total number may be taken to have reached twenty, but no regular or systematic government was ever established in them.

Factors which determined political boundaries.—It will be evident from the above survey that the political divisions of the Mughals were determined by administrative convenience dictated mainly by regional and geographical and in some cases, traditional considerations. In the case of frontier provinces like Kabul, Kashmir, Qandahar, military considerations supervened and the attempt of the emperors was to make their boundaries by important strategical points. They were not based on religious, linguistic or racial interests.

The provinces of the Mughal Empire were divided into sarkars and sarkars into parganahs, the last being the lowest unit of administration. For revenue purposes each parganah was called a *mal*, but occasionally there were more than one unit of revenue collection or mal in a single parganah. The seaports had no territory like the parganahs; but they all represented mahals.

Mughal system, forerunner of the modern.—The various administrative institutions and departments of the Mughal government were the precursors of much of the framework of the modern administrative system which has grown on their model, although the spirit and policy of the present government are far otherwise and the form and origin of the ultimate executive authority quite different, in as much as the Mughal Government was national and Indian, while the modern government is foreign.

Divisions and sub-divisions of a province.—According to the Ain-i-Akbari each province was divided into sarkars and each sarkar into parganahs. The parganah was the smallest unit of administration. The parganahs sometimes contained one or more *thanas* which represented police sub divisions. Later in the 17th century reserved land (Khalsa) was divided into chaklas, under an officer called chakladar. The *sarkar* was like a modern commissioner's division serving as a medium of communication between the

parganah and the provincial authorities, and as an agency of general supervision and control. It will be noticed that the parganah which was, like the modern district, the unit of general administration during the Mughal period has been reduced to the position of a mere revenue division, and in its place the district has emerged as a new administrative unit.

Another basis of territorial divisions : Khalsa, Jagir and Suyurghal—The Mughals, like the Sultan of Dihli, divided their territories on another basis by which the administrative activities of the government were to some extent shared by what may be called an extra-state agency. This new basis may be called the assignment system. Under this system the 'Imperial Territory' proper, (apart from the hereditary states and 'zamindaris') was divided into :

- (i) Khalsa lands, *i.e.*, lands reserved for direct collection of revenue by the Imperial Government.
- (ii) Jagirs or assignments of land made to officials of the State as a means of payment of their remuneration.
- (iii) Suyurghal, *i.e.*, lands granted to pious and learned men by way of subsistence.

In the words of Moreland the essence of the Jagir system was 'to set aside particular items of recurring revenue to meet particular items of recurring expenditure, usually, but not invariably, the salaries and expenses of the Imperial Service, carrying certain obligations and duties, including maintaining a number of equipped horsemen, proportionate to each officer's respective rank and salary'. Suyurghal was a jagir without any such obligation of service. It is important to note that the conferment of jagir carried with it no other authority to the assignee except that of realising through his own servants, the revenue fixed and assessed by the Imperial Government. These jagirs were frequently transferred and re-shuffled from hand to hand.

Subordinate and Tributary States.—The entire Mughal

domains were divided politically into Imperial territories proper (*i.e.*, territories directly administered by the Imperial Government) and the subordinate and tributary chiefships which were, as a matter of expediency, suffered to continue with widely varying degrees of internal autonomy almost exactly like the modern native states, under the ægis of the British Government with their powers and duties defined by treaties and sanads. They are called zamindaris by Abul Fazl. Thus a very considerable part of the Mughal dominions remained under the rule of their old hereditary chiefs and was never directly administered by the Imperial Government.

So far as the status of these states^{*} was concerned all of them seem to have stood more or less on the same level. The Imperial Government seldom interfered in their internal affairs, except when compelled by political expediency. But, of course, in matters of a more formal nature such as the vassal's obligation to regular attendance at Court or the Emperor's control of the right of succession, the latter did not fail to assert his authority. The degree of Imperial control and the obligations of the states varied from nothing more than a nominal allegiance, such as most Himalayan States owed to the Crown, to a very wide one including personal service, attendance at Court, payment of tribute, and in many cases an implied obligation to enter into matrimonial relationship with the royal family.

Between these states of the Mughal period and the modern native states there is one important political difference noticeable owing to the manner in which they have been treated in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. While the numerous petty chiefships scattered all over the empire were placed generally under the jurisdiction of their respective provincial governments, the large states of Rajputana, were combined to form the province of Ajmer, each component state being treated as a *Sarkar*. It is, however, evident that they are so treated for revenue purposes only while their administrative and political autonomy remained unaffected. The only condition imposed upon all subordinate chiefs was

that none of them was allowed to coin money.

Apart from the treaty obligations which the chiefs had to fulfil towards their sovereign, they enjoyed full freedom in internal administration as well as in all other matters of a public or private nature, and enjoyed a far more independent and honourable position than the present native princes do under their sovereign.

THE PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE

Introductory.—The provincial and local machinery of administration forged by the Muslim rulers of India was from the very first inevitably a composite structure, comprising as it did both foreign and indigenous elements welded into a harmonious system. It was by the magic of Akbar's political vision and practical genius that these different elements became so nicely assimilated as to form a blend in which the distinctive character of the constituents was no more perceptible.

The two principal categories of the several institutions which combined to make up the structure of provincial government were the provincial organisation at the top and the local parganah and village institutions at the bottom. The former was modelled after the central structure which was essentially an adaptation from the Persian *Khilafat* organisation. The latter (village and parganah) institutions and their framework were purely Indian and had struck deep roots into the soil since time immemorial. The Mughals judiciously retained the ancient local institutions as the most stable and useful, and at the top, instead of superimposing an inelastic system on these institutions, so modified and adjusted the central as well as provincial administrative machinery as to make it the support and sanction of the former.

The spirit and character of provincial government.—The spirit and form of the provincial administration and the

position of the provincial authority in relation to the sovereign* were the result of a process of evolution which was regulated and determined by two fundamental factors viz., (1) the character and principle of the monarchy and (2) the executive machinery built up by the first two Mughals and the Surs.

The Afghan monarchy was based on the principle of the kingdom being tribal property shared among the members of the community. The sovereign was only a *primus inter pares* and did not enjoy an inaccessible or sacrosanct position. Under such a system the position of the sovereign was bound to be extremely precarious and his hold on the provincial officers extremely feeble. That system contained germs of turbulent and disloyal propensities which were too apt to burst up at the slightest provocation or temptation. Babar and Humayun imported the Turkish species of monarchy which derived its authority from a divine source, but the atmosphere for the acceptance of such a principle was at the time most uncongenial. Paradoxical as it may seem it was given to Sher Shah, the Pathan-Sur King, and partly to his son Islam Shah by their dominating personalities and administrative ability to rear up that machinery and develop that political atmosphere which was essential for the tacit and almost unconscious recognition of the Turkish principle of sovereignty which Babar and Humayun had failed to establish. The inevitable result of this change was that the provincial authorities could not any more enjoy the same kind or degree of independence as they had done under the Afghans. Nor could they ever dream of rebelling with the object of seizing the throne. Thus while the provinces of the Afghan empire were like the more or less autonomous components of a very loose federation, those of the Mughal empire since Akbar's accession were provinces of a unified and consolidated empire fully under the control of the para-mount authority.

The aim and spirit of the provincial government was, of course, the same as that of the Imperial government, i.e., to be 'continually attentive to the health of the body

politic' and to provide to its people protection and safety from external danger and internal oppression and insure their economic welfare and freedom for self improvement.

Provincial Executive.—The head of the province under Akbar was officially styled the Sipahsalar (he was popularly called Subahdar and later only Subah). Under his successors he came to be called Nazim. Next to him in official rank was the Divan. These two principal officers shared between them the responsibility of practically the whole administration of the province. The Sipahsalar was responsible for the executive, defence, criminal justice and general supervision. The Divan was responsible primarily for the Finance Department, but he also exercised some judicial powers in civil and revenue cases and a general supervision of the department of the Sadr. The Sipahsalar and Divan were assisted by (1) a Bakhshi who had a multiplicity of duties to perform like the Imperial Bakhshi, and may be called the Quarter-Master General and Officer Commanding of the regular forces, (2), a Sadr, who was the head mainly of the religious department, charities and grants, (3), a Qazi or the Chief judge of the province; (4), a Kotwal, who had charge of internal defence, health, sanitation, and all other municipal functions, (5), a Mir-Bahr, who was in charge of port duties, customs, boat and ferry taxes, control of river transport, etc. and (6), a Waqia-Navis, the news recorder and reporter of the court. In addition to these another officer called Amin, i.e., trustee, was occasionally appointed in some provinces. His duties were probably of a supervisory and auxiliary character, and seem to have varied according to the circumstances and requirements of the occasion.

Sometimes very young princes and sons of nobles of high rank were appointed viceroys. In such cases a capable, and experienced person was invariably sent as 'ataliq' (guide and perceptor) to the young viceroy who was instructed always to follow the ataliq's advice, the latter being the de facto viceroy. Often a committee of several high officers was appointed to assist the viceroy. We also have instances

of officiating viceroys 'sent to act in place of the real incumbents' who had to be absent for one reason or another. In the 31st year of his reign Akbar found it necessary after due scrutiny to appoint two men to each province as joint governors. This practice, however, does not seem to have continued long. The appointment of the viceroys was made by an imperial order technically called the '*firman-i-sabati*', while the Divan of the province was appointed by a '*husbul hukum*' of the emperor bearing the seal of the Imperial Divan. The provincial Sadr and Bakhshi were appointed on the nomination of the Imperial Sadr and Bakhshi by the Emperor's orders.

Concerning the tenure of office of governors and other high officials of the province, no precise information is available. Tavernier, however, refers to a custom according to which a governor was expected to retire in three years. And from the actual practice of the frequent transfers of governors it is evident that they were not allowed to hold charge of a province for long. No super-annuation limit was fixed, the age limit of a government servant being determined only by physical capacity to work.

Duties of the Sipah-Salar and other high officials.—At the time of the appointment, an instrument of instructions was issued to the viceroy which contained : (1), instructions regarding the responsibility and scope of his work, his powers, privileges and limitations, (2), advice as to his private and public conduct, and (3), instructions to his subordinates to obey and co-operate with him. Thus his duties were very comprehensive involving as they did his general responsibility for the common weal and an oversight of the government functionaries of the Subah. His duties included also the administration of justice with great care and caution but he was not authorised to give capital punishment. He was to ensure peace and security and to provide facilities to the ryot so as to encourage agriculture as well as industry and trade in the country. He was to ensure complete religious liberty and to encourage learning. Lastly, he was to keep the army in good trim. Concerning himself,

he was advised to be abstemious and of good behaviour. Concerning his subordinates, he was authorised to punish them if any jagirdars or officers acted in contravention of his orders or in a manner prejudicial to the efficiency of the government.

The Divan, who was the head of the finance department, was also entrusted with very comprehensive duties. Besides being responsible for the assessment and realisation of revenue, he was to keep a watch over the treasury and to encourage the growth of agriculture by advancing loans to the peasantry in times of need and by adopting other suitable measures. The Diwan was sometimes invested with the auditor's office also. (Vide : Riyaz-us-Salatin, p. 170 Bib. Ind, tr. p. 168). Lastly, the Divan exercised full control over the allocation of expenditure to the different departments. Numerous records concerning the executive, revenue, irrigation, agricultural and charities departments were maintained in the Divan's office. Apart from this, the Divan and governor were so independent of each other, that they represented a sort of dyarchy in the province and indeed exercised a watch and supervision over each other's activities. Like the Sipah-salar, the Divan also had a numerous staff of superintendents, treasurers, clerks, and peons, in his office.

The Sadr and the Qazi—Next to the Divan, the most important officers were the heads of the religious and the judicial departments. It appears that the posts of Sadr, the Qazi and the Mir-Adl were generally combined and entrusted to one and the same person, although some instances are available of these offices being held by different persons. References to Muftis are also of frequent occurrence in connection with judicial administration. None of these, however, show that the Mufti was a regular official. He seems to have been a sort of unofficial legal referee recognised by public opinion by virtue of his great knowledge of the religious law. We find only one instance in which the Sadr-i-Jahan of Pihani was appointed Mufti of the empire.¹

¹(Badayuni, Vol. III, p. 141.)

The Bakhshi and the Political Remembrancer—With the office of the provincial Bakhshi was generally combined that of political remembrancer (waqia-nigar). In the latter case, besides performing his military duties, the Bakhshi had to maintain his agents and reporters in all offices from the governor downwards, and to send to the emperor an abstract of the reports that he received.

The Secret Service—Besides the official remembrancer who reported about the activities of the public servants, a regular system of secret service under an officer called 'Sawanih Nawis' or 'Khufia Nawis' was maintained to keep the imperial government regularly informed of the activities of all government servants as well as such other occurrences in the country as were supposed to be worthy of being brought to the notice of the Emperor. As an instance of the efficiency of this department, it may be stated that even the highest officials including the governors and divans lived in constant awe thereof, because they were suitably punished if any reports were received against them and were found to be true.

Nature and conditions of service—The basis of almost the entire system of higher government services was military, just as the Indian medical service under the present system is. That, however, only meant that the conditions of the services were adjudged and governed by military rules, and not that the sole aim of the Mughal Government was military. All the high officers, although they held military ranks, performed civil duties unless requisitioned to war front.

There were no specific qualifications required for the various appointments, but actual facts show that great care and caution was exercised by the Emperor and other high authorities in the selection of their men.

The relation of the Provincial Government to the Central—In theory, as shown above, a complete change had come about in the relations between the provincial and central authorities since the advent of Akbar. Actually, however, the control of the central authority in an empire so extensive as that of the Mughals, wherein means of communication were

comparatively slower, depended to a considerable extent on geographical conditions no less than on the personal equation of the monarch and the provincial viceroy. The obstacles and difficulties that a benevolent and strong ruler would have to face would arise from distance, from the nature of the locality or province, and from the recalcitrant, covetous or neglectful character of the viceroy or chief. That the obstacles in the way of a good and just administration were great cannot be denied. Hence the Mughals devised a series of checks to control and supervise the activities of the government servants, especially the governor and his ministers. Frequent transfers in the normal course, and immediate transfers, recall or dismissal in case of inefficiency or misconduct, constituted the first effective check. The second equally powerful check was the intelligence department comprising both the overt news-reporter's department as well as the covert secret-service, (سوانح نویس) the latter being a source of great fear to the government servants. Thirdly, the administrative dyarchy, created by the equal status of the provincial Divan and the Viceroy, each keeping a jealous watch over the other served as a most potent and unfailing check on the provincial ministry. Then came the imperial tours during which the emperors used to inspect the work of the local officers and heard complaints from the people against their mal-administration or oppression. If the emperor could not go himself on inspection tours, he used to depute some high minister or noble for the purpose. Todar Mal, for instance, was sent on such a tour to Benares when Bayazid was Shiqqdar of the sarkar of Benares. Lastly, the fear of public opinion and of representations by the people as a result of which commissions of enquiry were set up by the emperors, and in the event of their guilt being proved, even the highest officers were severely chestised.

Provincial Finance—No clear statement of the allocation of revenues or expenditure between the Central and Provincial finance is on record. But we know that besides the land revenue and the tributes from subordinate chiefs, customs including port dues and inland transit duties, salt

tax, income from mints and royal public works, zakat, and some miscellaneous charges, such as fishery taxes, were all included in the central revenues. These may be put under regular revenue as distinguished from certain casual source of income, such as presents, inheritance of unclaimed or heirless property and escheat, which come under irregular revenue.

Thus the major sources of state income were almost solely absorbed by the central exchequer, and only local and minor sources of income were left to the provinces. But no difficulty arose on account of this system because the Mansabdari System on which most of the services were organised, left very little burden on the provincial revenues. This was limited to payment of salaries of the clerical and subordinate staff and perhaps of certain public works and charitable grants to local institutions and deserving persons.

Among the local sources of revenue the following may be gleaned from references in the sources: (1) Duties on internal transit, (2) Duties on various markets in large towns, (3) Income from Public Works such as gardens, (4) Octroi. Regarding the first item our information is derived from foreign merchants. One of them Tavernier tells us¹ that each wagon load of merchandise was charged four rupees and a chariot only a rupee. On boats a different rate was charged. The merchants whose route lay through the territories of autonomous chiefs had to pay transit duty to them also. The imperial government did not attempt to interfere with their privileges. The next two sources, consisting of markets and Public Works, as we learn from the Mirat-i-Ahmadi, obviously yielded a considerable revenue because trade was very flourishing. There is no direct record of octroi but the market dues were perhaps treated as octroi. We learn from Manucci that the Kotwal used to raise a tax also from houses of ill-fame and brothels.

Expenditure.—Among the local items of expenditure

¹See Prov. Govt., p. 327.

were the hospitals, chiefly meant for the poor and indigent, which were opened in many places. Then there were permanent Kitchens, alms houses, for distribution of food and clothing to the poor and needy. Sarais in every town and city, with all necessary comforts and a regular staff to minister to the needs of visitors, grants to local schools, temples, mosques, etc. constituted another item of provincial expenditure.

The expenditure on services and administration was incurred through the local divans and bakhshis, but it was controlled by the Central Government.

Working of the Revenue System

Since Sher Shah's time, all the three immemorial methods of assessment viz., *Batai* or sharing (called *Ghalla bakhshi* or *Ghalla qismi* by Muslim historians), *Kankut* or estimate (*Nasq* and *Muqtei* were slightly modified forms of *Kankut*) and *Zabt* or measurement, had been in vogue. Akbar further elaborated them and introduced reforms in the methods as well as forms of revenue realisation. He improved and standardised the measuring instruments, the *gaz*, the *tanab* or *jarib*; he increased the wages of the collectors, and abolished the many illegal cesses which had grown up; he allowed choice to the peasantry to pay revenue in the shape of cash or kind, excepting the *kachcha* or decayable crops and finer crops, such as sugar, indigo etc., in which case cash payment was compulsory.

In the assignments of *Mansabdars* the latter had to realise revenues assessed by the government through their own officials. They could not realise a farthing more than the amount shown in government returns.

The assessment and collections of the revenue in the subordinate states was left to the chiefs concerned and the government only realised a fixed lump sum from them.

Provincial and Local Judiciary.

Position of Muslims and Non-Muslims in the State.—According to Muslim law no non-Muslim can enjoy the status of a citizen in a Muslim State. But Muslim jurists were wise enough to extend to them a qualified citizenship by imposing various conditions on them as the *sine qua non* of their being allowed to exist as subjects of a Muslim State.

The actual practice, however, chiefly under Akbar and his successors, was far different from theory. Akbar's whole life was devoted to the effort of giving to Muslim Law an interpretation broad enough to extend to all his subjects, irrespective of community or creed, an equal status as citizens of the State, without any favour or partiality.

The Organisation of the Judiciary.—There were two main components of the Judicial system under the Mughals, (1), the official machinery consisting of the qazis, and other law officers, and (2), the local community and village panchayats or councils. The latter has constituted the basis of the system since time immemorial and was given official recognition and sanction by the Muslim rulers.

The provincial judiciary was presided over by the qazi and sadr of the province, the two offices being usually combined. He was assisted occasionally by certain other officers such as mufti and mir adl. The divan, the kotwal, the amil and shiqqdar also had some share in the administration of justice. The qazi dealt with religious cases, the divan with civil and revenue disputes and the kotwal and shiqqdar with criminal cases.

There were qazis in every city, town, and even in large villages. But it is certain that most disputes in the country-side were first decided by the local community panchayats and the need for appeal to higher courts seldom arose.

Police and Jails.—The Police of the province was under the kotwal. He carried out his duties with the help of

sarkar, parganah and thanah officers of his department. They were also assisted in this work by the faujdars, shiqqadars and even by the amils.

We have also detailed and clear references to the jails maintained by the government. The condition of the prisoners in the jails was not unsatisfactory and it was easy for any man of honourable position to secure temporary release or better comforts to the prisoners.

Public Works.—The Public Works of the Mughals may be classed under two categories—(1), edifices meant only for royal use, such as forts, palaces, mosques, tombs, etc., and (2), those meant for the use and benefit of the people, such as cities and city walls, roads, canals, tanks, artificial lakes and water reservoirs, bridges, gardens, and other pleasaunces. The Mughals lavishly spent on both classes of public works. In this they followed the example of their Hindu predecessors. They laid out many roads by clearing forests and connecting distant parts of the country to encourage trade and commerce. They built numerous sarais and organised a good postal system. They built canals, tanks and artificial lakes in hilly regions by throwing dams across the openings between two neighbouring hills such as had been done by Indian rulers since ancient times. They laid out gardens and step-wells and organised fairs and markets. They also spent enormously on state edifices for their own use.

In this constructive work the rulers were greatly helped by generous and well-to-do men among the people. It was considered a part of religious duty both by the Hindus and Muslims who could afford to sink wells, construct tanks and hospitals and plant trees and gardens and build mosques and temples on road sides for the comfort of travellers and strangers. In carrying out these works of public utility they were encouraged and helped by the state.

Education also received due attention on the part of the rulers. Although there was no regular department of education, the department of charities and grants devoted a

considerable portion of its donations to help educational institutions run by molvis and pandits in mosques and temples. The Mughals also opened a number of state hospitals in towns in which medicine was distributed free. There were hospitals for beasts and even for birds.

The Sarkar and the Parganah.—Each subah was divided into a number of sarkars and each sarkar into parganahs or mahals, the latter being the lowest unit of administration. Below the parganah was the village panchayat which was popular in origin but was recognised and backed by the government. Akbar's empire comprised 105 sarkars and 2,737 mahals, but these figures were frequently changing owing to rearrangements and fresh annexations.

In the sarkar the administration was in charge of the faujdar assisted by an amil or amalguzar, a qazi and a kotwal. The faujdar was mainly concerned with the maintenance of law and order and enforcement of the government rules and regulations. He generally maintained a small army and supervised the work of the police also. In case the amil needed his assistance in the realisation of revenue or to punish contumacious cultivators, the faujdar was to give him the required assistance. There was a network of thanas in the country and one of the main functions of the faujdar was to guard the countryside by means of the thanas (police stations). Under Sher Shah the executive head of a sarkar was called shiqqdar-i-shiqqdaran, which term seems to have been replaced by the term faujdar under Akbar for the sake of convenience.

The amil was mainly concerned with the assessment and realisation of revenue, while he had also the power to punish miscreants whenever necessary. The kotwal of the sarkar was the head also of criminal justice besides being in-charge of the police and municipal duties of the chief town. The qazi held charge of civil justice when the parties were Muslim. Thus the administration of justice in the sarkar was mainly shared by the kotwal and the qazi, the former acting as a magistrate not only for the head-quarters but for the whole of the sarkar.

The Parganah and its Officials.—The parganah had three principal officers since Sher Shah's time, namely, the shiqqdar, the amil and the qanungo, who were assisted by an adequate staff of treasurers (fotahdars) clerks, patwaris and peons. It seems that the functions performed by the faujdar and the kotwal in the sarkar, were in the parganah entrusted to the shiqqdar alone. The latter had the duty of maintenance of law and order, of general supervision and of assisting the amil in the performance of his duties. The fotahdar of the parganah was responsible to him and under his control. There was also a qazi in each parganah.

Other Political Divisions.—In addition to the sarkars and parganahs into which the greater bulk of the empire was divided, administrative exigencies necessitated the creation of certain other political divisions in some localities. These divisions, or more correctly speaking, administrative centres, were sea ports, frontier out-posts and forts, and thanas. The seaports were governed by a superintendent, (mutasaddi) who was assisted by other judicial, police and civil officers like the sadr and bakhshi of the sarkars. Similarly, frontier out-posts and forts were under faujdars. They were created mainly to guard the frontiers and to keep in check the turbulent activities of rebellious neighbours.

In the reign of Shah Jahan another class of political divisions named chaklas, was created by the prime minister Saadullah Khan. In each chakla he appointed a faujdar (chakladar) and an amin and made the karoris of the mahals subordinate to the amin. Possibly these divisions were created to facilitate assessment and realisation of revenue.

The administration of the towns.—From the admirable account of the police and municipal organisation of Ahmadabad furnished by the Mirat-i-Ahmadi, we can infer that a similar system of administration should have obtained in all important towns. The chief official in-charge of the town was the kotwal. His duties were so wide as to appear to be impossible for a single man to

perform. They may be summarised under the following broad heads:—

(1) Watch and ward of the town for which he had to maintain guards,

(2) Control of the market including rates of commodities, the standards of weights and measures etc.

(3) Care and legitimate disposal of heirless property.

(4) Watching the peoples' conduct and prevention of crime.

(5) Prevention of social abuses such as Sati.

(6) Regulation of the cemeteries, burials and slaughter-houses.

For the successful performance of his duties the kotwal was advised to make himself easily accessible to all so that the miscreants might be punished and grievances redressed without delay. He was also expected to keep a register of all the people in the town and by means of spies to watch the activities of visitors, merchants and travellers. Similarly it was his duty to see that the streets and public places were not misused or made dirty, to prevent cheating by shop-keepers and dealers and to restrain profligacy, and debauchery so far as possible. Realising that the duties of the Kotwal were very heavy the government empowered him to employ the requisite number of assistants to carry them out efficiently and well.

The village community.—No account of any of the pre-British administrative systems of India can be complete without an adequate reference to the local village panchayat system. "Local Government" says Sidney Webb "is as old as the hills". This is more true of India than of any other country. Most of the functions of the Government had been carried on by the village councils since time immemorial and the Mughal rulers extended to this useful institution their recognition and protection.

Conclusion

From this brief review of the administrative system as

How should I not be stirred with danger surging
around me ?

Treacherous wind and crested wave, is there no
escaping you ?

Lo now the captain unfurls the silken sail to the
breezes

And the boatmen begin to rejoice as the last cloud
flags away.

The wild-fowl rise with a roaring of wings, scared
by the chant of oarsmen ;

Lute and flute are astir ; faint harmonies drip
from the sky.

Bright are the water-lily's leaves as though the
rains had burnished them.

The slack line slips through my hands that would
fathom the soundless lake.

My gaze falls on the vast expanse of the limitless
void before me,

Rearward menacing, dark, Chung-Nan towers out
of sight.

Southward the mountains brood above the restless
waters,

Their grim reflections, trembling, sink in deeps of
darkening blue.

The sun sets, the boat glides by the cloud-
pavilioned pagoda,

And soon the moon is mirrored in the dun dusk of
the lake.

'Tis then the black dragon, breathing pearls, looms
out of the darkness.

'Tis then the river-god beats the drum, and the
shoaling monsters rise.

The naiads leave their dim retreats, faintly their
revels find us,

And the pale streamers of their quickened lutes
gleam for an instant far away.

CH'ANG CH'EN

CIRCA A.D. 720

THE story of the beautiful Chao-Chün is a favourite theme of Chinese poets and ballad-mongers. The Emperor Kaotsu, the founder of the glorious Han dynasty, made a treaty with a certain Prince of the Huns, who as a pledge of its fulfilment demanded the hand of "a flower from the palace of the Hans." Kaotsu sent a messenger to the capital with orders that all the girls in the palace apartments awaiting a summons from the Emperor should have their portraits painted. When this was done he chose from the number the dullest and most insipid, and commanded the original to be brought into his presence before sending her to the Prince. The astonished Court then beheld a girl whose beauty enchanted all eyes, a vision of loveliness unsurpassed. But the Emperor's word was final, and Chao-Chün crossed the border to her lifelong exile. The Emperor wreaked his vengeance on the faithless painter whose lying portrait was the cause of her sacrifice, but her lost charms obsessed him, and he could never forget. Vainly the caravan of a hundred camels, laden with gold, the ransom for an Empress, set out for the country of the Huns. Their Prince refused all offers for her while she lived, and when she died even the last honour of burial in her native land was rejected.

THE TOMB OF CHAO-CH'UN

Death would have ravished her some hapless day
Even among the palaces of Han,
But she was never born to taste
The bitterness of fate so far away—
This pearl of beauty for whose sake did haste
The camels' golden-gleaming caravan.
To-day but dust and bones remain
Of her whose ransom threaded the cold steppes in
vain.

Night fell on chariots to the frontier ranged,
But horses champed, for none were fain to part.
Each cursed the lying hand, the traitor's heart.
The moon surprised us scattered round the tomb,
And all our tears were changed
To little piteous lights that rayed the gloom.

TS'UI HAO

A.D. 703-755

BOATING SONG OF THE YO EH

O LIGHT we glide through forest green,
By misty shore and gaunt ravine.

And whether we tarry or drift along

The clouds and the birds around us throng,

And mirrored mountains' nodding brows

Follow the wake of our flying prows.

Now song returns from rock to rock ;

Now soundless glades our silence mock.

Sunbeam and shadow elves at play

Beckon our wandering wills to stray.

Ah furl your sails ! ah furl your sails !

The last wind down the valley fails.

HAN YÜ

A.D. 768-824

ONE of the wittiest and most brilliant of the T'ang statesmen and philosophers, Han Yü's poetry has been overshadowed by his prose essays, which have been upheld as models of Chinese literature. He attempted to found a new school of Confucianism, being a bitter opponent of the Buddhist tendencies of his day, and was banished to a semi-barbarous region which he set to work to civilise. Su Tung-p'o, the great Sung poet, wrote a magnificent poem to his memory which has been translated by Professor Giles (cf. *Chinese Literature*, p. 161).

DISAPPOINTMENT

Still moonlight floods the inner gallery,
Where the japonica sets fluttering
Her silvered petals. Languidly
I rise, and let my absent glance
Fall where the shadows of the swing
Over the door-step dance.

I am possessed
By spring's rough humid winds that penetrate
The silken curtains of my lonely state,
And cannot rest,

For all my sorrow.

During the night I hear the heavy rain

Crash on the lotus pool afar.

To-morrow ! ah to-morrow !

The little boat lies swamped that I would fain

Have steered in search of the golden nenuphar.

PO CHÜ-I

A.D. 772-846

ONE of the greatest statesmen that China has produced. Po Chü-i comes nearer to our idea of a poet of the Romantic School than most Chinese writers. Yet even when he tells the story of the Emperor Ming Huang and the Lady Yang Kwei-fei—the one supreme love romance of China—he deals with issues that endure beyond the curtain-fall on tragedy. For him the final crisis is never attained. A wrong done has results beyond the reach of time. For a fuller account of this poet cf. *A Lute of Jade*, p. 73.

IN YUNG-YANG

I was a child in Yung-yang,
A little child I waved farewell.
After long years again I dwell
In world-forgotten Yung-yang.
Yet I recall my play-time,
And in my dreams I see
The little ghosts of May-time
Waving farewell to me.

My father's house in Yung-yang
Has fallen upon evil days.
No kinsmen o'er the crooked ways
Hail me as once in Yung-yang.

No longer stands the old Moot-hall,
Gone is the market from the town ;
The very hills have tumbled down
And stoned the valleys in their fall.

Only the waters of the Ch'in and Wei
Roll green and changeless as in days gone by.

Yet I recall my play-time,
And in my dreams I see
The little ghosts of May-time
Waving farewell to me.

RAIN AT DAWN

At dawn the crickets shrill, then cease their 'plain,
The dying candle flickers through my eaves ;
Though windows bar the wild dust and the rain,
I hear the drip, drip, dripping on the broad
 banana leaves.

MORNING STUDIES

Smooth and white the walls that ring the pool,
Carefully swept the rose-walk's mossy green,
Across the water dimpling winds blow cool
Where lotus-leaves as large as fans are seen.
What does yon flower-bright pavilion hold ?
Simply a lute and there a song enscrolled.
To the sound of dropping pearls I turn the leaves,
Playing, swaying beneath the spell the soul of
Autumn weaves.
Thus quietly the morning studies end,
And so I wait my friend.

THE LITTLE CROW

The little lonely crow
Hovered around a little empty nest,
Waiting and wailing for the mother breast.
Ah ! cold and far afield she cannot hear
The call incredulous of death. And so
It lurked in the old forest for a year.
And through the night its little piteous cry
Brought tears to all who wandered nigh ;
As though in broken song it would repay
The debt of life to her who silent lay.
All other nestlings know a mother's care ;
Thou, only thou shalt find not anywhere,
Nor warm dark wings fold down on thy despair.

AT FORTY-ONE

The waters from the pool are vanishing ;
A mellow sunlight steep the window-panes,
And autumn winds ply many a pleasant fan.

O gold and green, half-ripe, the acacias glow,
While o'er the threshold of his summer falls
The shadow of a solitary man.

A NIGHT ON LAKE T'AI

Water and sky, as dusk folds down, together blend
in a grey green mist
Clear silhouettes of the trees are limned on a
sunset of rose and amethyst.
Moon doth creep from the bed of the deep paling
the storm-black waves afar ;
Through frosted rushes ripe oranges are gleaming
golden star on star.
I am void of cares and affairs, so happily drink
and dream in peace.
Loud and shrill may the reed-pipes trill ; when
they touch my heart they cease.
But my ten little painted ships to-night, where
shall they anchored lie ?
At the foot of the Tung-t'ing mountain, on the
cold deep breast of lake T'ai.

OU-YANG HSIU

A.D. 1007-1072

OU-YANG HSIU, Chief Minister of State 1061 A.D., was one of the two foremost poets of the Sung dynasty. His poems, which have been all too little translated, are remarkable both for their exquisite imagery and colouring. Together with Sung Ch'i, he produced the history of the T'ang period. Cf. *A Lute of Jade*, p. 111.

RETURN

You far away—you know
That when the wine-cup reddens o'er the lake
I call to you a thousand leagues apart,
From the sheer confines of the world, and lo,
All golden—for your sake,
Spring dimples through the doorway of my heart.

THE PAVILION OF AROUNDING JOY 71

THE PAVILION OF AROUNDING JOY

Red trees, green hills in the sunset, and clippings of
boundless grass.

O little the pilgrim reckons of the Spring about to
pass.

In front of the Joy Pavilion, in the drift of scented
showers

To and fro I come and go on a carpet of fallen
flowers.

WILD GESE

When wild geese leave the uplands lone
The frost turns sand and rock to stone.

When over Chiang Nan they scream
Pale leaves go drifting down the stream.

Broad is the water; heaven leans low;
Sullen and dun the cloud-wracks show.

When north winds tear the ragged sky
Their taper files go whistling by.

BELL HILL

In the ravine the water wanders through;
Soundless it laps the stems of tall bamboo.
Westward a tiny strip of green all serolled
With fairy pennons flaunting, red and gold.

Oh rare! Oh delicate is spring!

Thatched roofs face one another. All day long
Silent I dream. No bird breaks into song,
The very hills are slumbering.

SONGS OF THE NIGHT

I

In flowing crowds
The moon-born clouds
Cast their light shade
O'er stairs of jade ;
And all the moonlit ways are one,
Shining in silver unison.
Yet who can read aright
The mystery of night ?

II

Spring-time, and sounds of the streaming water-
fall ;
Deep night, on shrunken hill-tops spreads her pall.
The moon steers through a maze of pines, and lo,
A thousand thrusting peaks are set aglow.

III

In the cold water the collected snow
Melts, and the frozen stream begins to flow.
The laughing girlsslip homeward through the dark,
While sand-birds wheel around the fisher's barque.

WANG AN-SHIH

A.D. 1021-1086

SOCIAL reformer, politician, and literary man, Wang An-Shih has often been called the Father of Chinese Socialism. For many years he enjoyed supreme power as Prime Minister of the Emperor Shen Tsung, during whose reign he introduced a system of state doles to agriculturalists and organised a universal militia for safeguarding the country. He lived long enough to see the whole of his legislation repealed by his successor and rival Ssu-ma Kuang, the historian.

AT THE PARTING WAYS

The west wind ruffles the water
Where the last red blossoms fade,
And the thought of separation
Is stirred by the lute's serenade.
East of the world-piled hills
O'er song of parting thrills.

SU TUNG-P'O

A.D. 1036-1101

TOGETHER with Ou-Yang Hsiu, Su Tung-p'o ranks as the foremost poet of his age. His whole career is curiously similar to that of the older poet. Both were statesmen, and both suffered on account of their uprightness and independence at a time when morality in public life counted for little. Su Tung-p'o, after holding high office, was ultimately banished to the island of Hainan, where he held the obscure post of sub-prefect. Here many of his best poems were written in lonely exile.

DREAMING AT GOLDEN HILL

The stranger merchants faring from the east
Muffled in cotton robes, have met to feast.
They drink, they revel, and they part at will,
While moonlight floods the towers of Golden Hill.
The third watch comes, the tide begins to flow;
A fair wind follows, and in dreams I blow
The reed-pipes, and have sailed to far Yangchow.

AT THE KUANG-LI PAVILION

Red-skirted ladies, robed for fairyland, all have
 flown,
 But my heart to the wail of their long reed-pipes
 licks on :
 Their clarion songs 'mid the wandering clouds were
 blown,
 The tiny-waisted, dreamily-dancing girls are
 gone.

FAREWELL TO CHAO TÁ-LIN

Long do I sorrow that the spring should end ;
 Fain is the host to stay the parting friend.
 When for a while the dull routine is done,
 We statesmen idle in the sun.
 The kettle yields its stream of golden tea,
 And warm winds spread the odours of congee.
 Finished the cup, faded the crimson peach,
 Twilight, the green embankment levelled to the
 beach,
 My boat is poled along the shore and soon
 In the pure night unlanterned we recline ;
 Until, caps off to conquering wine,
 We nod, the dream companions of the moon.

ON THE RIVER AT HUI-CH'UNG

Beyond the twilight grove some sprays
Of peach-bloom charm the lingering days.
In spring, when first the waters warm,
The wild duck on the river swarm.
When artemisia lights the land
Young reeds break through the dappled sand

LIV TZUCHI

CHINESE LUTE

LISTENING TO THE LUTE

Night and the railway moon. Some hidden
lute

Sound from a garden above. A the wind
Swell and recede the lute's low calls,
Now like rain. Now commingled with the clouds
It throbs, it twists the earth and moon. Almost
Like gentle mockery the echoes fall
As laughter breaks on tears. The hand that
sways

The crowded chords I see not, but the heart
Made visible by music far away
Spells me her dreams. Ah! mourns she not the
tryst

New made and newly broken, but the old
Lost love of long ago. Her melodies
Are secret sorrows welling through the lute—
Are captive nightingales escaped in song.

One touch of the chords, and snow-flakes scatter
round

One, and the flowing brightness of the sun
Passes. Perchance she grieves that few may hear
And understand. The floating dust collects
Beneath her silver nail-tips. Lone is she
As orphan phoenix calling, with whose plaint
The songs of all birds fail to harmonise.

AUTUMN MOONLIGHT

Not yet has the cool moon topped the hill.
White are the floating clouds that fill
Half heaven's void ; while to and fro
By the verandah windows go
My halting steps that pause as though
Stilled for the sound of one I love.
The flying brightness shimmers through the grove,
And, mirrored on the pine-ringed pool,
Makes her dream-waters beautiful.
Now Autumn's purest alchemy anew
Quickens the moonlight and distils the dew,
And silence, coiled more closely round my walls,
Strangles each tiny rumour that befalls.

WILN TUNG

CHINESE POETRY

MORNING

Suspirants through twinkling pines - do cast
Their shadows on my window - rest.
A night of clouds and rain is past
And, newly blue and ice-bly green,
The Dawn rebuilds my world as it.
Pear-tree and plum-tree shed their burden sweet,
And children's happy voices rouse the street.

EVENING

Now pale flocks glimmer as they wind along;
Into the deep ravine the herd goes down;
The cold dumb pool awaits the nightly throng
Of wild geese wailing through the twilight brown.
With jars of new-made wine old farmer Wang
Gladdens the neighbours. Gloomy faces shine
And dark robes kindle to the flush of wine.

LU YU

A.D. 1125-1210

A DISTINGUISHED official who also made a name for himself as poet and historian.

SONG OF THREE GORGES

From the twelve Hills of the Witches I see the
Nine Peaks rise ;

Beyond my prow a myriad tints flush autumn's
empty skies.

Untrue the legend, " Morning clouds, and evening
rain,"

The howling of gibbons in bright moonlight fills
the plain.

When long June days begin

I wander to Nan-pin,

And moor my boat to a little quay

Where monkeys swing from tree to tree.

Now shadows gloom Ch'u Yüan's grey memorial ;

And by the tomb of Yü red roses fall.

LIU CH'ANG

CIRCA A.D. 1150

AUTUMN THOUGHTS

MOONLIGHT ! the floating mists are gone, a wind
unveils the deep clear night.
Star rivals star, and the silver river draws to her
breast the dreamy light.
Gaunt old trees cast shadows on the plain ;
Little birds hushed by fear are stirring, singing
again,
And my heart is a tumult of song
And a torrent of wild wings shaking free.
Home, home, home—I hear the long
Shrill of the far cicada calling me.

ON WAKING FROM SLEEP

At noon comes rest from the long routine ;
I launch my boat on the lilled pond and float
Till I drift without will into sleep.
Green shadows lattice the waters green ;
Courtyard and house the silence keep.

Then a bird breaks over the mountain-side
And falls and calls from the crimson coronals
Of the woods that awake to her cry.
My silken robes in the wind float wide.
O wings of delight, draw nigh ! draw nigh !

ANON.

(From the Sung Collection)

RIDING BY MOONLIGHT

FROM the tall hill-top some great star
Falls to the west afar and afar.

Out of the glistening gorge below
The orient moon swims full and slow.

Hair dishevelled and sleeves blown wide,
Into the kind cool night I ride.

Faint winds free strange scents anew
Moon-paled maples bright with dew,

Dripping dreams from bough to bough
Sigh to my lute, Why sleepest thou?

Hands on the waiting strings fall mute.
Low my heart answers—"I am the lute."

LIU CHI

A.D. 1311-1375

THE most celebrated of the poets belonging to the Mongol period, Liu Chi was also one of the foremost adherents of the rising dynasty of Ming, and eventually became Censor and Under-Secretary of State to the first Ming Emperor. The jealousy of rivals, however, pursued him, and in the end he was poisoned by his rival the Prime Minister, Hu Wei-yung. There is little depth in the poems of Liu Chi, but much charm and considerable feeling for natural beauty. A contemporary critic has described his poems as "wind-blown petals."

THE CONVENT OF SIANG-FU

So I sprang to horse at cockcrow all a fever to
depart,
Galloped, galloped to the convent, ere the
calling bells were still,
Over dimpled lawns a zephyr woke the lily's
jewelled heart,
And the moon's faint crescent faltered down the
cleft of wooded hill.

Oh the lonely little convent with its secret haunts
of prayer !

With its shadowed cells for dreaming, where
eternities abide.

Down the cedar-scented alley not a footfall stirred
the air,

But the monks' low droning echoed in the green
gloom far and wide.

NIGHT, SORROW, AND SONG

The rain's in the air
And the winds arouse,
Shaking the cinnamon boughs,
And the begonias' gay parterre ;
Raising dust and wreathing mist,
Whirling all things where they list—
Leaves in many-coloured showers,
Bright petals of innumerable flowers.
Knocking at all doors their hustling
Sets the silken curtains rustling,
Till, as shrunken draughts, they creep
Into the shrouded halls of sleep,
Raise the hair and ruck the skin
Of the startled folk therein.

I am grown weary of my lonely state,
Tired of the tongueless hours that wait,
Dreaming of her whom skies of blue
And twilight æons hid from view.

ANON.

QIRUN A.D. 1790

THE following two poems are anonymous and belong to the 'Mistaken period.' They are but two of a series of flower-salutes endowing each flower with a fragrant personality of its own. The elaborate beauty of the Chinese originals is almost impossible to reproduce.

PLUM BLOSSOM

She flower hath in itself the charms of Eve;
Not nearer and she breaks to wonders new.
As you might call her beauty of the rose,
She too is folded in a fleece of snows:
Or you might call her pale, she doth betray
The blush of dawn beneath the eye of day.
The lips of her the wine-cup hath caressed,
The form of her that from some vision blest
Starts with the rose of sleep all glowing bright
Through limbs that ranged the dreamlands of
the night.

The pencil letters and the song is naught,
Her beauty, like the sun, dispels my thought.

Khan at Burhanpur, and the Gawilgarh fort at Chikalda with its great gateway and mosque, have all been saved from hastening decay ; and in Bihar the fort of Rohtas and the tombs of Sher Shah, Alawal Khan, Hasan Sur Shah and Salim Shah have been thoroughly over-hauled. Equal care, too, has been bestowed on the monuments of Moslem dynasties in the native states. The Bharatpur Darbar has taken in hand the preservation of the extensive remains at Bayana ; the Dhar State has combined with the Imperial Government to rescue from the jungle the mighty relics of the Khalji dynasty at Mandu—the grandest of all the fortresses of India ; and His Highness the Nizam has expended considerable sums on various monuments in his dominions, among them being the mosque at Daulatabad, whose minarets were in a parlous condition, the Bibi Maqbara at Aurangabad and the royal tombs at Gulbarga.

16. What has been done for the mosques, the tombs and the palaces of the Muham-
 Buddhist monuments. madans, has been done in an equal measure and with strict impartiality for the relics of other faiths and other nationalities, whether they be pagodas of the Buddhists, shrines of the Hindus, temples of the Jains or churches of the Christians, though in the case both of Jain and of Christian edifices it is comparatively seldom that financial help has been required from Government. Of the Buddhist topes at Sanchi and the measures that have been taken for their exploration and repair mention will be made anon. At Ajanta in the Hyderabad State, sanction has been given by the Darbar for the preservation of the matchless frescoes which adorn the walls of the cave-temples, and at Nasik

the safety of the caves has been secured by careful drainage and the erection of adequate supports. In the Kotila of Firoz Shah at Delhi the pillar of Asoka has been underpinned and the structure beneath it strengthened, and at Rampurwa in Bihar two more pillars of the same Emperor together with their capitals and crowning ornaments have been rescued from the morass in which they had sunk. At Sarnath, the Dhamekh stupa has been partially refaced, and in the Frontier Province the ruins crowning the hill of Takht-i-Bahi have been carefully protected, while the rock edict of Asoka at Mansehra has been guarded against damage by a suitable structure built around it. As Buddhism declined in India, so it gathered strength in Burma, the history of its growth and expansion being marked in that province by the erection of an ever-increasing body of monasteries and pagodas which date as far back as the 7th Century A. D. Government is now maintaining a large number of these, among the finest and architecturally most interesting fabrics that it has recently repaired, being the Bawbawgyi pagoda at Prome—one of the most ancient edifices in Burma—the Nat Hlaung Kyaung, the Upali Thein Ordination Hall, the Seinnyet Ama Temple and the Patothamya pagoda at Pagan, and the Sangyaung and Taiktaw monasteries at Mandalay.

17. In Northern India, there were relatively few sacred edifices that escaped destruction at the hands of the Moslem invaders, and accordingly no efforts are being spared to preserve those which have been fortunate enough to survive. Such as the brick temples at Bahua and

Tinduli in the Fatehpur district and at Bhitargaon in the Cawnpore district, the Basheshar Mahadeo shrine at Bajaura in Kangra, and the large and interesting groups of Hindu remains at Dwarahat, Jageshvar and Champavat in the hills of Almora, which were more immune from invasion. Throughout Central and Southern India, on the other hand, and in Bombay there are multitudes of Hindu monuments of every age and in every style of architecture, to the up-keep of which most of the money expended in those parts of India is devoted. Here it is possible to name but a few typical examples. Such, in the Central Provinces, are the temples of Mahadeva at Pali and at Nohta, the Vishnu Varaha temple at Majholi, the small but exquisite Gupta shrine at Tegowa and the Lakshmana temple at Sirpur, the task of conserving which has been more than usually difficult and protracted. In Assam, there is the Ahom temple at Nigriting, the curious "chess-man" pillars at Dimapur, the purpose of which has not yet been satisfactorily explained, and several temples at Sibsagar and Gaurisagar. In Orissa, there is the crowd of temples at Bhubanesvar, many of which are in charge of Government, and the stupendous fabric of the Black Pagoda at Konarak. In the Bombay Presidency, there are important groups of caves and structural edifices at Badami, Aihole and Pattadakal, which comprise among their number some of the most illuminating examples of early mediæval architecture; and in Madras there are the vast remains of Vijayanagar with its temples, palaces and bazaars, the rock-cut and structural monuments of the Seven Pagodas, and the great temples at Tanjore, Kumbakonam and Vellore—at all of which and

at many others an active and systematic campaign of protection and repair has been prosecuted.

18. Among the monuments of the Central Provinces and Madras much interest attaches to the fortresses which once played a dominant part in the fortunes of the country and which often constitute most striking features in the landscape. A special endeavour has recently been made to safeguard these historic land marks from the encroaching jungles and to preserve their ruined walls and battlements. Of the Gawilgarh fort at Chikalda mention has already been made ; others in the Central Provinces which have been over-hauled and are now in course of repair are the Deogarh castle in the Chhindwara district, —the stronghold of the Gond Chief, Bakht Buland, in the days of Aurangzeb—and the fort of Ballarpur in the Akola district, one of the largest and strongest in Berar. In Madras, there are the fortresses of Palghat, Bekal, Atur, and Siddhavattham—the last built by Ananta Raja in 1303—the Jamalabad stronghold of Tipu Sultan near Beliangadi, the towering rock fort of Gooty and the more extensive fort of the Vijayanagar kings at Gingee.

19. As to the policy which has been pursued in the treatment of these and other buildings, the Government of India are fully alive to the deplorable harm that may be done in the name of restoration, and except in special circumstances, are opposed to its being undertaken. It is recognised, however, that there are considerations of a social, political and climatic character which must always be taken into account, and that in this country, in particular, it is impracticable to lay down one law which will

Principles of conservation.

be applicable to every case. Thus a distinction is drawn between the older Buddhist, Hindu and Jain edifices on the one hand, and the more modern erections of the Muhammadans on the other; and in the case of the latter the view is taken that a policy of limited restoration is sometimes not only desirable but justified on the ground that the art of the original builders is still a living art. It is held also, that in the case of monuments which are still serving the purpose for which they were built, whether they be Hindu temples or Muhammadan mosques or tombs or palaces where ceremonial functions are still performed, there are frequently valid reasons for resorting to more extensive measures of repair than would be desirable, if the buildings in question were maintained merely as antiquarian relics. With these reservations, however, the object which Government set before themselves is not to reproduce what has been defaced or destroyed, but to save what is left from further injury or decay, and to preserve it as a national heir-loom for posterity.

20. Under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904, the Government took extensive powers to safeguard monuments in private possession, and much has since been done by the conclusion of agreements with their owners or by purchase to ensure the proper repair and maintenance of many valuable fabrics. The provisions of this Act do not, however, apply to buildings used for religious observances, and it is the policy of Government to avoid as far as possible any interference with the management of such buildings. On the other hand, where the endowments of such

that a time would come when the monuments of the country having been catalogued and their initial repairs executed, they could be handed over to the exclusive care of the Public Works Department or even of district boards. That time has receded further year by year and the Government is now satisfied that it cannot look to any other department except the Archaeological or to any private agency to exercise that expert supervision and control which is indispensable if the national monuments of the country are to be adequately preserved.

22. To the organisation and development of museums

Museums.

as centres for research and education the Government attaches much importance. Of such institutions there are thirty-nine in India, namely: one Imperial Museum, nine provincial museums, seventeen local and twelve in native states. The character and scope of these museums vary greatly. The Imperial and the majority of the provincial museums contain other sections besides the archæological, and are designed to be generally representative, in the former case of the Indian empire, in the latter of the province or presidency to which they belong. Others are devoted exclusively to antiquities and have been instituted on important sites for the purpose of safeguarding moveable antiquities and exhibiting them to the best advantage amid their natural surroundings. Others, again, (and in these archæology is rarely represented) contain heterogeneous and non-descript collections, which were started many years ago without any coherent plan or purpose and are now of little utility except for popular recreation. Of the museums given up in whole or in part to archæology, seven are of a

strictly local character and not susceptible of great expansion. They are intended for the advancement rather than the diffusion of knowledge, and their function in this respect is not likely to be modified. The Archaeological Department is now doing, and has already done, much to classify on scientific lines, to arrange, and to catalogue their collections, and the student will find in them a profusion of valuable materials for his researches. But to any more active kind of instruction these local museums do not lend themselves. It is otherwise with the larger regional museums situated in important centres of educational activity. When the organisation of these institutions is more complete, they will co-operate with the universities, colleges and schools in the dissemination of knowledge, and they should then develop into potent agencies for the advancement of science and the enlightenment of the people. "*For the people, for education, for science*" is the motto of one of the foremost American museums, and the ideal to which many others in that country and in Europe are now working. It is the hope of Government that the more central museums of India will follow their example and take a real and vital part in the education of the country. But this ideal cannot be attained until their collections have been more extensively developed; for in every case the work of a museum must pass through the exploratory before it reaches the educational phase. Accordingly, it is on the former of these two functions that the Government is now laying stress, and for which it is making liberal financial provision. Within the last five years energetic campaigns of excavation have been prosecuted

and abundant finds of valuable antiquities made on the sites of Taxila, Sahri-Bahlol, Sarnath and other places; immense collections, too, have been secured by expeditions despatched to the Indo-Tibetan borderland and the deserts of Chinese Turkestan; and the museums have been further enriched by finds of treasure trove and by numerous purchases. In Europe and America, museums have built up their collections largely by the aid of private gifts or loans, and it is to the lively interest taken in them by the public at large that they owe most of their vitality. The museums of India have rarely in the past been the recipients of such help or patronage, but it is hoped that they may be more fortunate in this respect in the future and may meet with a stronger measure of support and encouragement.

23. The recent developments of archæological

Exploration.

exploration in India deserve more than the passing mention made

above. When the Archæological Department was created in 1862, it so happened that the interest of Indologues was much focussed on problems of ancient geography and more especially on the problems raised by the then recently published records of the Chinese Pilgrims, who visited India between the 4th and 7th Centuries A. D. As a result of this interest General Cunningham and his assistants devoted much of their energy to the examination of the holy places of the Buddhists, with the main idea of determining their identity, and incidentally of gathering together objects for display in museums. Since those days excavation has made immense strides, and has developed into an

exact science, demanding expert knowledge and control. This advance has been mainly due to the labours of archaeologists in Greece, Italy and other Western countries, whose scientific methods of excavation I was instrumental in introducing into India. What success these methods have achieved, may be seen in the harvest of monumental finds and the wealth of information regarding ancient culture that has since been obtained, even on sites that were previously believed to be exhausted.

24. From the time of its re-organisation in 1902, it has been the design of the Department to take in hand the excavation of the great buried cities of antiquity; but, before this design could be carried out, it was deemed advisable to re-examine some of the Buddhist sites which had already been partially uncovered, in order to co-ordinate the results obtained by earlier excavators and to check the often unreliable conclusions which they had drawn. For all practical purposes this part of the programme was completed in 1910, by which time much solid work had been done at Oharsadda, Rajgir, Sabetth-Maheth, Kasia, Sarnath and other spots, and secure foundations laid for operations in another and more difficult field. Then followed the exploration of the town of Bhita, a small and well-defined site near Allahabad. Here, for the first time in India, well preserved remains of houses, shops and streets, dating as far back as the Mauryan epoch, were laid bare, and numerous minor antiquities recovered, which help us materially to visualise the everyday life of the towns-people in those early days. These discoveries gave promise of a still richer spoil awaiting

the spade at the more important centres of ancient civilization ; and this promise has since been amply fulfilled. At Taxila the results obtained have been epoch-making. This city lay on the great highway which connected Persia and Central Asia with Hindustan and was the meeting place of many nations and a famous seat of learning. Under the Achæmonian dynasty it was probably included in the Persian Empire, and subsequently became the foremost city in north-west India, being occupied in turn by the Mauryas, the Greeks, the Sakas and Pahlavas, and the Kushans. Its site covers an area of some 25 square miles, and embraces, besides a multitude of other buried monuments, three separate cities—the earliest founded in prehistoric times, the second by the Greeks and the third apparently by the Kushans. In the second city, known as Sirkap, my excavations have disclosed to view a complex of streets and buildings including elaborately planned houses with private chapels attached, a spacious Buddhist temple, several *stupas* and, in the heart of the city, the palace of the kings. These remains are disposed in clearly defined strata, belonging to successive epochs. The palace, dating from Saka times but subsequently repaired and enlarged, is peculiarly interesting by reason of its plan, which closely resembles that of an Assyrian palace and thus furnishes another link in the chain which connects together the Indian and Mesopotamian cultures. The temples and shrines were for the most part adorned with figure sculpture and other ornamental devices, and by virtue of the precision with which their age can be determined, will furnish instruc-

tive data for the history of Indian plastic art. But it is in the private houses that the most novel and valuable finds have been made. These include several thousands of coins (many of rare or unique types); domestic utensils of all sorts; ceramic wares; bronze vases; silver and bronze ornaments; gold bracelets, pendants, necklaces, finger-rings, and other jewellery; and a variety of miscellaneous objects of a unique character such as a silver head of the Greek Dionysus, a bronze statuette of the Egyptian Harpocrates, and an inscription on marble in the Aramaic tongue and script. Besides these remains in Sirkap several other isolated monuments of a striking character have also been brought to light. One of these is a massive and imposing temple thought to have been dedicated to Zoroastrian worship, which in appearance resembles a Greek peripteral temple with the addition of a solid tower of the *stūpā* type rising behind the shrine. Another is the great *stūpa* said by Hsien Tsang to have commemorated the spot where Asoka's son Kunala had his eyes put out. A third is a still larger edifice of the same kind called in ancient times the Dharmarajika, and, to judge by its dimensions and the array of monasteries, chapels, and other memorials grouped around, the foremost of all the Buddhist memorials in this neighbourhood. These, and the structures in the city of Sirkap represent a growth of six centuries or more, and their methodical excavation, stratum by stratum, has enabled me to trace with unerring steps the evolution of the local architecture and of the formative arts, and to establish much of the chronology of those ages on a secure basis. The ex-

ploration of the cities and other monuments of Taxila is likely to occupy another fifteen or twenty years ; as it proceeds towards completion, there is little doubt that the mists of uncertainty which have hitherto obscured this early period of Indian history will be largely dispersed.

25. The site of Pataliputra, the capital of the great Mauryan Empire, which was singled out for excavation simultaneously with that of Taxila, offers to the digger a far less favourable field than the latter ; for it has been inundated for centuries past by the waters of the Ganges, and its monuments, if they have not altogether perished, are buried at a depth of 20 feet or more below the surface. In spite of these difficulties, however, traces of the palace of the Mauryan Emperors have been brought to light by Dr. Spooner, and by their remarkable character have well repaid his persevering labours. It has long been known that much of the culture and art of the Mauryas owed its inspiration to Persia, but there are now good reasons for supposing that this royal palace, which was said in after days to have been built by the magical hands of genii, was an actual replica of the Achæmenian palace at Persepolis, and that in other spheres also Persia will prove to have exercised a stronger and more abiding influence than had hitherto been thought. The excavations at Pataliputra have been conducted by the Archæological Department on behalf of Mr. Ratan Tata who has shown the greatest generosity in charging himself with their entire cost. No less liberal has been the enterprise of His Highness the Maharaja Scindia in undertaking excavations at the ancient city of Vidisa and of Her High-

ness the Ruler of Bhopal in exhaustively exploring and conserving the famous monuments at Sanchi, the noblest and most perfect of all the early memorials of Buddhism. The operations at Vidisa, the modern Besnagar, have but lately been initiated and have been directed mainly to the excavation of a temple of Vasudeva, which proves to have been erected as far back as the third or fourth century B. C., and thus to be the oldest of all Hindu shrines in India. Among other results of these excavations is the noteworthy discovery that the art of forging steel was practised in India more than two thousand years ago and that mortar was used in the construction of brick masonry at least as early as the third century B. C. The work at Sanchi has been on a more extensive scale; for here the Archaeological Department has had before it the task of unearthing the whole complex of monasteries, temples and other memorials clustered round the Great Stupa, of putting one and all into an effective state of repair, and of laying out the enclave in a manner befitting so priceless a heritage. Other sites which have recently been explored with most fruitful results are those of Takht-i-Bahi and Sahri Bahol in the Frontier Province, from both of which surprisingly rich collections of Gandhara sculptures have been obtained; Avantipur in the valley of Kashmir, which has been excavated by the Darbar and has yielded unique and precious examples of local plastic art of the medieval epoch; and Himawza in Burma, which, besides other finds of historic interest, has produced a number of funeral urns inscribed with legends in the extinct Pyu language. The interpretation of these rare records, though not

yet complete, suffices to show that Pyu was the language of the Prome district, used by the ruling chiefs for their funeral epitaphs, and that it was the language of a nation which was neither Burmese nor Talaing, though perhaps distantly related to the former. The affinities, moreover, between the Pyu and ancient Telugu scripts afford fresh evidence of the influence exerted by Southern India on the culture of Lower Burma, while the archaic character of the alphabet suggests that Indian civilisation reached Prome as early as the 2nd or 3rd Century A. D.

26. As to exploration on and beyond the frontiers of India, Dr. A. H. Francke's activities have been directed to the Indo-Tibetan districts of Bashahr, Spiti, Rubshu and Ladakh, which were once comprised in the kingdom of Western Tibet and which had never before been explored by any scholar intimate alike with the Tibetan language and with the local history and antiquities of those regions. These rare accomplishments Dr. Francke had acquired in the course of many years' sojourn in Ladakh and Lahul as a member of the Moravian Mission. Starting from Simla in June, 1909, Dr. Franke travelled through Rampur-Bashahr and by the Hang Pass to Spiti. Thence he ascended the Pharang Pass and continued his journey through Rubshu along the shores of lake Thsomo-Riri, afterwards crossing the Phologongkha and Thaglang passes and so reaching Ladakh, the true centre of the ancient kingdom of Western Tibet. In the course of this journey Dr. Francke amassed a large and varied collection of inscriptions, manuscripts, wood-prints and miscellaneous antiquities, and brought back with him

copious photographs and notes on the topography, monuments, customs and folklore of the countries through which he passed. The personal narrative of his wanderings and researches has already been published as a volume of the *Imperial Series of Archaeological Reports*, and another volume of the same series is now in the press containing the chronicles and epigraphic materials collected by him.

27. Since 1901 Sir Aurel Stein has made three prolonged journeys of exploration in Chinese Turkestan and the adjoining border-lands of China, and on each occasion has discovered in the deserts immense hoards of ancient relics belonging to a civilization which owed its chief inspiration to India. These relics include many thousands of manuscripts in Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan, Khotanese, Kuchean, Sogdian, Uigur and Turki; paintings on silk, linen and paper; embroidery, brocades, damask and other textiles; painted frescoes; stucco ornaments; wood carvings; coins; intaglio gems; wearing apparel; and a large number of miscellaneous objects for public or private use. Popular accounts of Sir Aurel Stein's first and second journeys have already appeared in his works *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan* (1903) and *Ruins of Desert Outlay* (1912); and a detailed report of the scientific results of his first journey has been issued under the title of *Ancient Khotan* (1907), while a similar report on his second journey is now in course of publication. His third journey was started in 1913, and is expected to be completed by the end of the present year. Leaving Kashmir in August, Sir Aurel made his way to Kashgar by a new route through the hill state of Darel and

Tangir, which had never before been traversed by a European; thence up the Yasin valley and across the Darkot and other high passes to Sarikol. From Kashgar he struck eastward advancing along the foot of the southernmost Tien-shan range and across the Taklamakan desert, where numerous remains of the Stone Age were found. After halting at Khotan and gathering together a collection of antiques brought by treasure-seekers from the Taklamakan wastes, he set out once more for the Lop-nor desert, revisiting *en route* several sites which he had previously explored and adding still further to the discoveries made on his earlier journeys. Thus, in the vicinity of the ancient Pi-mo he recovered a series of well preserved frescoes from a Buddhist shrine; at the ruined settlement north of Niya he found many more dwellings buried in the sand and brought away a variety of documents, furniture, household implements and jewellery belonging to the first centuries of the Christian era; in the small oasis of Charklik, again, he obtained numerous Sanskrit manuscripts on birch-bark, palm leaf and silk, which appear to have been imported from India by the direct trade route across Tibet; and at Miran he secured the residue of the remarkable fresco paintings which he had been unable to remove on his previous visit. From the last-mentioned place Sir Aurel pursued his way northwards into the waterless desert of Lop-nor and found a fruitful field for excavation among the forts and settlements beside the dried-up river beds and along the old trade routes which connected China with the Tarim basin. These yielded an abundance of early Indian, Chinese and Sogdian documents, well preserved furni-

Still richer were his finds in the ancient cemeteries on the wind-eroded terraces of the same desert. They comprise half mummified bodies, which demonstrate the Aryan type of the early inhabitants of this region, and fine embroideries, brocades and articles of apparel, which are likely to open a new chapter in the history of Oriental textiles. These excavations completed, Sir Aurel first traced out the ancient route through the forbidding desert to the east, and then resumed the detailed exploration of the "Great Wall" of China, which he had discovered in 1907, and from the deserted watch-houses of which he obtained a plentiful supply of documents and other relics left behind by the Chinese troops who guarded this frontier down to the 2nd Century A.D. Another visit which the explorer made from Tun-huang to the caves of the "Thousand Buddhas" also resulted in the acquisition of some 600 more rolls of Chinese Buddhist texts of the Tang period, constituting an important supplement to the vast hoard of manuscripts that he had previously obtained from the same spot.

28. From Su-chou Sir Aurel followed up the eastern section of the Chinese border-wall and so made his way to the ruins of Khara-Khoto, which proved to be identical with Marco Polo's "City of Etsina", and from the deserted shrines and refuse heaps of which he rescued a quantity of stucco reliefs, frescoes and documents in Tangut, Uigur and Chinese. Thence he proceeded to Kan-chou and after a further spell of topographical survey work among the snowy ranges of the Central Nan-Shan crossed the great Pei-shan Gobi by an unex-

explored route and so proceeded by way of Barkul and Guchen to Turfan, where he settled down to further systematic excavations among the buried shrines and monasteries of the Buddhists. At Toyuk and Murtuk he obtained hundreds of fine fresco panels which strikingly illustrate the transition of pictorial art from the style of North-West India to that of the Far East; and at Astana he opened a series of rock-cut tombs which proved a rich mine of finds of all sorts, including stucco reliefs, paintings on silk, decorated fabrics and numerous articles of daily use. From Turfan he pushed south again and continued his archæological and geographical survey of hitherto unexplored tracts in the waterless Kuruk-tagh and Lop basin, making his way through to Korla, and thence to Kashgar by way of the line of oases which fringe the southern foot of the Tianshan range. Of the antiquities secured by Sir Aurel Stein in the course of this prolonged and arduous journey no less than 182 cases, weighing over 21,000 lbs., have already been despatched to India.

29. The extent of the epigraphic material that is now dealt with by the Archæological Department may be gauged from the fact that more than three thousand seven hundred inscriptions have been copied in the last five years, the bulk coming from Southern India, where on an average some 550 fresh-epigraphs are collected year by year. The decipherment of these invaluable documents has very greatly extended our knowledge of the past in India. In the South of the Peninsula, for example, the history of all the leading dynasties has been advanced and the chronology of the various princely lines

established on a firmer basis and in more detail. This has been made possible through important synchronisms of reigning kings attested by the epigraphs, by notices of princely names unknown before, and in some cases by fairly lengthy genealogies. Nor is it only in regard to reigning houses that documents of this class supply important evidence. Thus, in South India, again, an inscription of the 9th century shows that literary Telugu is older by two centuries than had been demonstrable from the literature; a new school of philosophy has been made known to us by an epigraph of the Chola King Aditya II; and a new vista in the history of Southern India is foreshadowed by the growing series of early Brahmi epigraphs in ancient caves, notably in the Madura district. Many of these inscriptions are of more than local interest. An epigraph at Vizianagram, for example, has confirmed a record of the Emperor Samudragupta on the pillar at Allahabad, and made possible the identification of a territory which he names; another record in Surat provides inscripional authority and explanation for a statement made by Kalidasa; and an epigraph in Burma records the restoration of the great temple of Bodhi Gaya in the thirteenth century. In Northern India, inscripional authority has been found at Mathura for a new king named Vasishka of the Kushan dynasty intervening between Kanishka and Huvishka. The oldest Muhammadan epigraph so far known in India has been found at Peshawar and the oldest record of any class at Taxila. The latter is an inscription on white marble in the Aramaic tongue, which confirms the view that the Kharoshthi alphabet was the direct derivative of Aramaic, a language intro-

duced by the Achaemenian conquerors. The first and only known record on stone of the Greek kings of the Punjab has also come to light in Central India, where on a pillar at Besnagar is inscribed an epigraph of the ambassador of King Antalkidas, a Greek named Heli-dorous, who seems moreover, to have been a convert to the Hindu faith. In Western India the antiquity of Poona has been demonstrated, and a specimen of the vernacular of Udaipur in the 11th Century has been found. More striking still is the progress made in Burma. Until quite recently nothing certain was known of Burmese civilization prior to the 11th Century A.D., or, of the foreign influences which were helping to mould it. Thanks to Mr. Taw Sein Ko's investigations, authenticated history in this Province has now been pushed back for another four centuries and an increasing measure of light thrown not only on the political divisions of the country and on the culture of the people, but also on the strong streams of influence which were then flowing into Burma from the north and south of the Indian Peninsula and bringing with them the Buddhism of the Mahayana and Hinayana Schools together with Hinduism and the languages associated with those religions.

30. Thus, in every branch of historical research, in every period of history, and in every part of the country, substantial progress has been made through the study of these records of the past. Yet so many causes of decay are operative in India, that the primary concern of the Department has necessarily been to obtain records of as many epigraphs as possible before further loss or injury occur to them. This, in many instances has en-

tailed the postponement of publication with the inevitable result that the bulk of accumulated material is now very considerable. To cope with this adequately is beyond the power of the Department as at present constituted, and for this reason a scheme for the extension of this branch of its work is now under the consideration of the Government of India. Under this scheme it is proposed to improve the position of the Government Epigraphist for Sanskrit and related tongues, and to increase his staff by the appointment of a number of expert assistants. This will enable adequate measures to be taken for the early publication of the material on hand and constantly increasing—a step which is not only desirable but requisite if the main object of our labours in this field is to be achieved.

31. The results achieved by the Archaeological Department in the several fields of Publications.

its activity are rendered accessible to the public by a variety of official reports and other publications. A list of these, now numbering over 400 volumes, is published from year to year as an appendix to the second part of the Director General's Report. The majority are periodical reports published by the Imperial and Local Governments; others are monographs belonging to what is known as the *New Imperial Series*; and others are miscellaneous publications. Of the periodical reports of the Department there are four series, namely, the annual reports of the provincial Superintendents and of the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy in Madras; the annual reports of the Director General; the *Epigraphia Indica* and the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*. The provincial reports are divided

into two parts, the first dealing with administrative and routine work, the second containing more or less detailed accounts of the monuments inspected or conserved, and popular rather than elaborately scientific descriptions of exploratory and research work. The reports of the Director General are likewise divided into two parts, but in their case the two parts are published separately and differ in character from the provincial reports in that the first contains a concise but comprehensive résumé of all that has been accomplished during the year, while the second is devoted to more detailed and scientific memoirs on specially important subjects, treated in as exhaustive a manner as possible and accompanied by numerous illustrations.

32. The *Epigraphia Indica* and the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* are the premier media for the publication of all inscriptional material throughout the Indian Empire. Of the former, which is issued quarterly, 23 parts, including two indices and one appendix, have appeared during the last five years; of the latter, which is published biennially and was started in 1907, three parts have been issued.

33. The *New Imperial Series* of Reports was initiated in 1874 and now comprises 38 volumes, most of which are monographs on particular groups of monuments or inscriptions. As illustrating the range and diversity of these publications mention may be made among recent volumes of the following:—*Pallava Architecture* by A. Rea; *Akbar's Tomb, Sikandarrah*, by E. W. Smith; *Antiquities of Chamba State* by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel; *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* by Dr. A. H. Francke; a revised edition of *Coorg Inscriptions* by B.

Lewis Rice; the 4th part of the 2nd Volume of *South Indian Inscriptions* by Mr. Venkayya. In addition to these there are also four volumes of the same series now in the press, viz., *Tile Mosaics in the Lahore Fort* by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, and the *Medieval Temples of the Dehlan, Muhammadan Architecture of Bijapur* and the *Chalukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts*—all by Mr. H. Cousens.

34. Among miscellaneous publications, a prominent

place is taken by catalogues and handbooks to the archaeological collections in Government museums, and by guides to places or sites of special interest. As examples of the former, mention may be made of Dr. Vogel's scholarly *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Muttra*; the same author's *Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum at Chamba*; Pandit Daya Ram Sahni's *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*; Mr. R. B. Whitehead's *Catalogue of coins in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology*; Dr. Spooner's *Handbook to the sculptures in the Peshawar Museum*; and a *Descriptive list of exhibits in the Archaeological Section of the Nagpur Museum* by V. Natesa Aiyar. Examples of the latter are Mr. H. Cousens' *Guide to Bijapur*; Mr. Sanderson's *Guide to the buildings and gardens, Delhi Fort*; Pandit Daya Ram Sahni's *Guide to the Buddhist Ruins at Sarnath*; and Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar's *Guide to Elliphanta Island*. An extension of this series of *Guide Books* is, in the interest of the public, much to be desired, but, until the cadre of the Department is increased, it is not anticipated that any considerable extension will be possible. Among the miscellaneous publications that have recently been

issued mention may also be made of *Three Turki Manuscripts from Kashgar* by Dr. E. D. Ross; of a *Report on Modern Indian Architecture* by Mr. G. Sanderson; of a translation from the French of M. Foucher, entitled *Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhara* by Mr. H. Hargreaves and of the 6th volume of Burmese epigraphs—a monumental work of 600 pages—containing the *Original Inscriptions collected by King Bodawpaya in Upper Burma* by Mr. Taw Sein Ko.

JOHN MARSHALL,
Director General of Archæology in India.

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in three pahars,* three days, and three years, let me have my revenge !' Then exclaiming, ' my future dwelling is the Dabi Baori,' sprang into the flaming pit. The horrid tale was related to the Rajah, whose imagination was so haunted by the shade of the Brahmin, that he expired just at the assigned period, a prey to unceasing remorse."

* Hours.

CHAPTER XI.

ANECDOTE OF A HINDOO.—THE NEWAUB OF LUCKNOW.

FROM Futtygur we crossed the Ganges, and proceeded to Lucknow on the river Goomty. As soon as we reached this splendid metropolis, our palankeen bearers came in a body to congratulate us on our safe arrival at the great city, and at the same time begged we would give them something for having conducted us in safety thus far. We accordingly bought them a sheep, which they soon killed, and converting the flesh into curries regaled themselves, as it appeared, to their infinite satisfaction. They were all Hindoos of the Sudra caste, which is the lowest of the four legitimate divisions. Now, although according to their Vedas and Puranas, even this caste is prohibited from taking the life of animals, except in sacrifice, yet it is certain that while some sects adhere, as the Bhudists to the letter of the prohibition, even to the preservation of vermin, yet are there a vast number of high caste Hindoos, and even of Brahmins, who do not hesitate to destroy animal life upon particular occasions, though they chiefly confine themselves to animals noxious or wild, except in cases, as above stated, where the love of good feeding induces them to eat as well as to kill. But whilst, however, they

will relax on certain points—and where is the community so morally organized that some of its members will not?—they are equally tenacious of their observances upon others, to which they will often adhere even unto death.

At Bombay, I knew an instance of a Hindoo who had gone on board an Indiaman on commercial business, and having taken too strong a dose of opium, he was overcome with drowsiness and fell asleep in the steerage. When he awoke he found that the ship had weighed anchor, and was already several leagues from the fort. There were many Lascars* on board, but, as they were all of inferior caste to himself, the provisions which they had procured for the voyage were looked upon by him as polluted. The captain of the ship, to whom the prejudices of a Hindoo were matters of indifference, refused to send a boat on shore, alleging that it would cause considerable delay. The poor fellow therefore had no alternative but to proceed to Madras with the ship, leaving his family in utter ignorance of what had become of him. On hearing the captain's cruel determination, he lay down upon the deck sullen and dogged, neither moving nor speaking, and in this state he continued for two days without tasting a morsel of food, or once moistening his parched lips. The ship was now at least a hundred leagues from Bombay, though, as she was bound for Madras, she did not keep very far from the land, but coasted down towards Cape Comorin, under easy sail, and was on the morning of the third day about twenty leagues from the shore.

* Native sailors.

By this time the poor Hindoo, overcome with horror at the idea of perishing among a race of beings degraded in his eyes by every moral and personal pollution, requested the captain to allow him a spar upon which he might endeavour to float himself to the nearest point of land, which, as far as I recollect, was Mangalore. It was at least fifty miles distant. A thick spar was accordingly flung into the sea, the Hindoo gallantly plunged in, and, bestriding it, committed himself to the mercy of the calm waters, surrounded by sharks and a host of other perils. Whether the unhappy fanatic reached the shore alive was never ascertained, but the chances were greatly against him.

The devotion of these people is extraordinary, and their capability of endurance incredible. With slight frames, and even when labouring under great bodily debility, they will undergo privations which would destroy the life of a European of much stronger proportions and constitution, while they appear to suffer little or nothing. The chief cause of this may, perhaps, be found in the extreme abstemiousness of their living, which renders them so little liable to inflammatory affections of any kind, that in every part of India even the severest wounds heal in an inconceivably short time with the simple application of a plaister and bandage. I once saw a man in the Deekan at work, six days after he had received a severe fracture of the skull. Owing to his lowness of habit, no inflammation, or to a very trifling extent, ensued.

We reached Lucknow just as the Newaub was

passing down the Goomty in his state barge, the Moah Punkee, of which a faithful representation is given in the following page. It was a splendid sight. This boat derives its name from the figure ornamenting the bow, which is a flying peacock; moah signifies a peacock, and punkee wings, indicating the swiftness of its progress; and these boats certainly are remarkable for their speed. They are of an elegant shape, extremely long and light in form. Unlike every other description of boat, the head rises greatly above the stern, which latter terminates in a low point without the slightest ornament. The head of the boat projects forward with a slight curve, and is at least ten feet from the surface of the water, ending in the body of a peacock with the wings extended. Near this gay ornament is a pavilion sufficiently spacious to contain ten or twelve persons. The boat is manned with from twenty to forty rowers, who use short elliptical paddles, with which they propel her forward with amazing swiftness, timing their strokes by a measured but not unmusical chant. Near the pavilion is a raised platform, upon which a man dances for the amusement of the company, flourishing the while a chowry over his head. He acts as a sort of fogleman, for by his movements the action of the paddles is governed. In the middle ground of the picture appears the palace of Lucknow, which is a structure of much beauty. This celebrated city is situated on the southern bank of the river Goomty, which rises among the Kumaon hills, whence it flows nearly parallel with the Goggra, and after passing Lucknow and Juanpoor, debouches into the

Ganges, a few miles below Benares. It is called Goomty from its serpentine course; and there are many smaller rivers flowing through the Gangetic plain which have the same name and for the same reason.

As in all the large cities of Hindostan, the greater part of the streets in Lucknow are so narrow as barely to admit the passage of an elephant, and very filthy. The different palaces of the Newaub, and indeed most of the public buildings, are structures of considerable splendour. The Imaum Barrah, completed in the year 1784 by Asoph ud Dowlah, is considered inferior only to the edifices erected by the Mahomedan emperors. The architecture is loaded, though not crowded, with ornament. This building contains a single room a hundred and sixty-seven feet long and broad in proportion. There is one remarkable feature in this structure: no wood has been employed in its erection, it being built entirely of brick. During the Presidency of Mr. Hastings, Lucknow was, perhaps, next to Benares, the richest and most populous city of Hindostan.

A few days after our arrival, together with other English residents, at Lucknow, we received from the Newaub, who was very rich and as hospitable as he was wealthy, an invitation to a sort of public breakfast; after which we were to be regaled by the sight of several novel contests between some of the strongest elephants in the prince's stables. About ten o'clock we accordingly repaired to the palace, where a sumptuous entertainment was provided. It was laid out with Oriental magnificence in a large room —

gilded roof. This splendid apartment looked out, through verandas that flanked it on either side, into a spacious area surrounded by trees planted at near intervals, the whole being again encircled by a strong palisade of bamboo.

The splendour of the entertainment sufficiently confirmed what we had heard of the princely hospitality of the Newaub. He received us very graciously, and after having done full justice to his sumptuous provision, we all repaired to the veranda to see a specimen of those elephant fights for which Lucknow has been long celebrated. They were announced as about to commence by three strokes given at unequal intervals on a gong, in order to distinguish this signal from the regular striking of the hour. We had scarcely placed ourselves in such a situation as afforded us the most commanding view of the arena, when a female elephant, followed by two horsemen well mounted and armed with long spears, was conducted into the enclosure. As soon as she reached the centre she looked about her with an apparent complacency that seemed to express a consciousness of the scene which was about to follow; and to my fancy there was a sort of smiling glance occasionally cast from her small twinkling eye, though every other part of her countenance was as rigid as a piece of unpolished horn. She stood all but motionless, merely now and then flapping her ears and slightly twisting her trunk, when two enormous male elephants were admitted by different entrances, and, upon seeing the female, both proceeded briskly towards her; but as soon as

each perceived that he had a rival, there was a mutual pause of some duration.

These were indeed the proud exulting monarchs
Of the huge herd ; their mighty roar invites
Grateful their willing mates ; down their broad cheeks
The viscid fluid sheds such cooling odour,
As from the newly ripe kadamba breathes.
They rend away the lotus leaf and stem
And roots and filaments, as in the lake
They madly plunge, affrighting from their nests
The osprey and the saras,* and to the tune
Of their ferocious loves, their ponderous ears
Waved dancing, lash the water into foam.†

It was evident that neither was desirous of commencing hostilities, for each stood alternately looking at the female and at his rival, fearful and undetermined. The men on horseback were already preparing with their long spears, to urge them on to the attack, when one of the huge champions, more resolute than his adversary, advanced towards the female, still with great caution, evidently by no means anxious to begin the encounter, though desirous of inviting her companionship without the intervention of a rival. This was a thing not to be quietly endured ; the other elephant, therefore, eyeing him suspiciously, bent forward with the same slow movement, following him step by step. There was now a prospect of immediate collision, and the eyes of the spectators were fixed upon the objects of their eager curiosity. As the two unwieldy combatants had gradually approached

* The Indian crane.

† *Hindoo Theatre.*

the subject of contention, they were at length so near to one another that there was no alternative but an immediate conflict. In point of size they were so equally matched that it would have been difficult to determine which had the advantage; and they were said to be about the same age. When within a few yards of each other, the elephant which had got nearest to the female, sprang suddenly forward, with a short abrupt cry, towards his adversary, which having eyed him keenly for some time as if he had expected such a result, was fully prepared for it. The shock was indeed terrific. The tusks of these formidable foes met with a force quite appalling, and the sound of the stroke must have been heard at a considerable distance beyond the enclosure. So fearful was the impetus that both these enormous animals were lifted off their forelegs to the height of at least four feet. Their tusks continued locked for some time without producing mischief, when they gradually retreated, as if by mutual consent. Meanwhile the female appeared to be a perfectly indifferent spectator of the contest. She scarcely deigned to look at the competitors, which were so earnestly contending for the preference in her approbation. It was doubtful whether they had yet relinquished the strife, as both still approached the object of their rivalry, though evidently showing no very vivid anxiety to renew the encounter. There was now a sort of tacit menacing kept up between them, until the two horsemen galloped forward from behind and began to goad them in the flanks in order to induce them to renew hostilities. This summary proceeding, instead of increasing their

irritation towards each other, provoked their rage against the horsemen, upon whom both instantly turned, and pursued them with a speed that bid fair to render fruitless the utmost efforts of their horses. I confess I expected every moment to see one of the riders seized by the trunk of the excited elephant and either whirled into the air or crushed to death under the weight of its ponderous body, but by the dexterity of his horsemanship and the superior speed of his horse, he managed to escape, although at one time he was in no little jeopardy.

The elephants were now led from the enclosure, and others introduced, when the same scene was almost precisely repeated, until the amusement began to lose its interest and to grow exceedingly tiresome. After the first shock the combatants invariably declined to try a second, which I could not help thinking a most prudent determination. A tusk of one of them was broken off close to the jaw, and the animal led from the arena streaming with blood. The unfortunate creature was most probably rendered useless by this accident, as the tusk when broken almost invariably becomes diseased; the wound constantly suppurating renders the animal unable to perform its customary services. We at length became completely weary of the sport, and retired with the good wishes of the Newaub, who seemed pleased at the idea that he had availed himself of the opportunity of entertaining us. The elephants at Lucknow have been long celebrated for their prowess in these encounters; but I must own that on witnessing them I was greatly disappointed.

A few days after, we received another invitation from the Newaub to witness a fight between an elephant and an alligator; this we willingly accepted, expecting to see something tremendous from the collision of two animals so formidable and so different in their habits and character. His highness had made the necessary preparations for affording us this new species of entertainment, having sent to the river Goggra a party, who had succeeded in catching a couple of large alligators, one of which was seven-and-twenty feet long. They were conveyed from the banks of the Goggra to the Goomty upon hackeries.

On reaching the scene intended for this strange sport, we found the alligators so exhausted from the uncongenial mode of their conveyance, and from having been so long without food, that they could scarcely crawl, but remained upon the banks of the stream without attempting to escape, and in a state of almost complete inaction. One, however, was much more torpid than the other, in consequence of having been longer caught and consequently longer a sufferer. A large elephant was at length led to the spot, though it approached with evident symptoms of distrust; for these animals appear to have an instinctive perception of danger far more keen than any other beast of the forest. He eyed the hideous monster which lay half gasping upon the river bank, for several moments before he ventured to advance, and when at length he did so, the largest alligator opened its ponderous jaws and made a snap at his trunk, but he had taken care to curl it up between his tusks, thus securing it from injury. The alligator finding itself foiled, snapped

at its aggressor's legs, but as the effort was made without any vigour or quickness, the elephant easily evaded the intended infliction by actively retreating beyond the reach of its dreadful fangs. Carefully avoiding a nearer approach to an enemy who it was evident had still the power to do him a serious mischief, he cautiously advanced towards the other alligator which was lying on the bank in an almost exhausted state, and on getting close to it, coiled up his trunk as before that it might be beyond the reach of harm, then placing his foot upon the body of the huge reptile, pressed upon it with the whole weight of his own. The creature immediately opened its mouth to a hideous extent and gave a shrill scream; but though crushed by such a weight, it was so tenacious of life, that it was not dead when we left the ground, and revived considerably upon water being thrown over it. The gnashing of the monster's jaws, when the elephant trod upon it, might I should think have been heard at a distance of at least two hundred yards.

A pariah dog was now fastened by a strong cord to this alligator, which immediately took him into its mouth, but to our utter astonishment the dog soon released himself from his horrible prison, and attacking the animal's nose, bit it so severely that the blood copiously flowed. The creature seemed to be quite insensible of the infliction, and was manifestly so nearly exhausted as to be almost bereft of sensation. To this circumstance must of course be attributed the dog's escape from his perilous confinement. His head, however, was more than once

within the alligator's mouth, but he seemed to thrust it in with impunity, and to draw it out at pleasure. Having at length seized his dying enemy again by the nose, he bit it with such severity that the alligator, as if in its expiring agony, opened its jaws and immediately closing them upon its tormentor, crushed him so forcibly that when he was extracted, which was immediately done by one of the attendants who was present to conduct the sports, he appeared to be quite dead. Water was again thrown upon the alligator and the dog. Upon the former it had little or no effect ; but the latter, to our extreme surprise, almost immediately rose up, staggered for a few seconds, and then, the moment it was released, ran off as if nothing had happened.

The Newaub had a space of ground of several acres enclosed, within which he kept a large assortment of birds and beasts of prey. It was a very fine collection. Amongst a great variety of animals there were several couples of the Rhamghur hill dogs, which go in packs to the number of several hundred, hunting down and quickly despatching the most ferocious tiger. They were animated creatures, but did not appear to be particularly fierce. Their size was about that of a stag-hound. They were kept in cages, for they are not easily domesticated, their wild nature taking them continually into the jungles in search of game. They often run down a whole herd of deer and leave not one alive.

CHAPTER XII.

A MAUSOLEUM.—ASOPH UD DOWLAH.

AMONG the architectural objects worthy of notice at Lucknow, is a mausoleum erected to the memory of a female relative of Newaub Asoph ud Dowlah. It is placed in a garden with a terraced walk and fountains. The building in the distance, as represented in the picture, is a private mosque, built by the immediate predecessor of that prince by whom we were so hospitably entertained. The garden is spacious, and laid out with much taste. The principal building stands upon a square platform, which is ascended by four or five steps, and forms a terrace of considerable width. The tomb is an octagon terminating in a richly ornamented parapet with short minarets at each angle. A large dome rises from the centre of the roof surmounted by a lofty gilt culice. The pediment beneath the parapet projects from the wall about three feet, giving a graceful finish to the body of the building.

At a little distance it is difficult to say whether the mausoleum is not constructed of the finest marble, but a closer inspection shows that it is covered with chunam only, a composition which for a long period preserves its pure white surface uninjured.

It is astonishing to what a degree of perfection the natives of India carry the art of stuccoing with this beautiful material, producing an effect so near to that of white marble, that it often requires a close scrutiny to detect the imitation. As neither frost, nor snow, nor any of the sudden atmospheric changes, to which most other countries are subject, occur in this "land of the sun," the chunam resists even those awful storms with which every region between the tropics is more or less visited at certain periods of the year, and will last for generations without showing the slightest symptoms of decay.

The mosque in the distance, though simple, is not devoid of elegance, which is much enhanced by the two lofty minarets that ornament the transverse angles of the square.

The body of Asoph ud Dowlah, who built the mausoleum just described, is buried in a sepulchre constantly illuminated by an immense number of wax tapers. The sarcophagus in which his body reposes, is continually strewed with flowers and strips of gilt paper; why the latter, I never heard explained. The tomb is kept covered with consecrated bread from the city of the Prophet, whence a supply at certain intervals is obtained at an enormous expense, and passages from the Koran are chanted day and night over the mouldering ashes of the prince. A censer filled with various perfumes is placed on one side of the sepulchre, and his sword and cummerbund on the other. At the head a copy of the Koran and his turban are deposited.

Lucknow is about six hundred and fifty miles from Calcutta, and is consequently visited by many residents at the Presidency, especially by ladies as anxious to see the elephant fights and other novelties for which this city is celebrated, as they of the nobler gender, who deem the enjoyment of such stern amusements their especial privilege.

A very interesting circumstance connected with Lucknow occurred about three years ago, to the recital of which I shall devote the remainder of this short chapter.

Some thirty years since, the captain of an Indianman residing in this city, obtained an introduction to a Persian lady of great personal attractions, of whom he shortly after became enamoured. She returned his affections and they married. The lady being in possession of great wealth, the husband relinquished his profession and took up his permanent abode at Lucknow. Here he resided with his wife for upwards of three years in great domestic comfort, during which period she bore him three children. From this time he was absent until the eldest boy was about seven years of age, when the father brought him to England in order to obtain for him the advantages of a European education. It happened that the quondam captain, for some reason now only to be surmised, led his child to suppose that he was not related to him but merely a friend to whose care he had been committed during the voyage. Almost immediately upon their arrival in this country, the father suddenly died without revealing to his charge

the relationship subsisting between them. As the boy bore the complexion of his native clime, and the features of the race from which he sprang on the maternal side, he was looked upon as a half-caste by the relatives of the deceased, who had never been informed of the father's marriage; they, therefore, considered that they made a suitable provision for him by binding him an apprentice to a grocer, with whom he served his time and proved a faithful and assiduous servant. When the period of his apprenticeship was completed, the relations of his late father gave him a hundred pounds and cast him upon the wide world to seek his fortune, at the same time discouraging any expectation of future assistance; glad to be thus easily freed from the claims of one whom they deemed an incumbrance.

Without patron or friend, the deserted youth had little chance of establishing himself in his business by securing a respectable connexion—a half-caste being looked upon with a kind of conventional prejudice, which it is to be hoped the late act of Parliament in favour of this slighted race will tend speedily to subdue. Thus circumstanced, he was at length reduced to such a state of destitution that, in order to prevent the accession of irremediable poverty, he became an itinerant dealer in tea, and in this humble capacity contrived to realize an uncertain subsistence, which he rendered still more precarious by adding to his domestic responsibilities that expensive blessing—a wife. He married the daughter of a labouring carpenter, with whom he casually became acquainted, without any portion but her beauty and household

dexterity. She was a comely woman, and, fortunately for him, turned out an excellent manager; his expenses were therefore not materially increased.

Having been represented to the servants of a gentleman residing in the country as an honest fellow who sold excellent tea for a small profit, he found among them a ready sale for the commodity in which he dealt; and though they were keen chafferers and generally pushed a hard bargain with him, still he was constant in his attendance upon them, as the establishment was large, the sale therefore considerable, and his money returns quick. His civility moreover was appreciated, so that he always found a ready welcome among those merry domestics.

He was one day upon the point of quitting the house, when he chanced to pass the master as the latter was ascending the steps of the portico. The gentleman seemed suddenly struck with his appearance, eyeing him with an eager and somewhat impatient curiosity. The poor huckster, for he occasionally sold other things besides tea when he found he could turn such traffic to profitable account, felt abashed at the rigid and unexpected scrutiny, touched his hat with a tremulous obsequiousness as he passed the lord of the mansion, and made the best of his way home, fearing that the gentleman had entertained some unfavourable suspicion of him. As soon as he had retired, the master asked his servants what they knew respecting him, and though this was very little, it was still sufficient to induce him to desire again to see the itinerant tea-dealer; he therefore gave orders that he should be apprised the next time the latter called.

This was accordingly done, and when the poor fellow was introduced to the great man, he began to entertain fears that he was labouring under the odium of a base suspicion. The old gentleman commenced by questioning him about his birth and parentage. His replies at length convinced the inquirer that the humble vender of tea was the object for whom he had been some time in search.

It happened that this very gentleman was residing at Lucknow at the time of the captain's marriage with the Persian lady, and was in fact the only European, besides her husband, with whom she had been acquainted. He was moreover present at the marriage, and the sole attesting witness. The widow had latterly written him several earnest letters from Lucknow, imploring him to use his best endeavours to recover her boy, of whom she had heard nothing for nearly twenty years. Upon receiving an appeal so urgent and affecting, the kind-hearted friend did his best to discover the lost son, but having no clue and finding his efforts end in disappointment, he had abandoned all hopes of success, when the resemblance of the huckster to the Indian lad, as the former quitted his house on the morning of the preceding day, struck him so forcibly, that he felt instantly convinced of their identity, which his subsequent enquiries confirmed.

The old gentleman now made the long-neglected half-caste, as he was considered to be, acquainted with every particular of his birth, informing him that the person who brought him to England was his father, and that he had a mother in India who was longing

to clasp him to her bosom. She had deposited several thousand pounds in the Calcutta bank for his use should he be discovered, and was inconsolable at his mysterious absence. Her affection never for a moment subsided: she had mourned for him as for one dead, though not without a hope of still meeting him, in spite of her long and bitter disappointment.

This intelligence came like a light from heaven upon the friendless outcast. He could for the moment scarcely believe so flattering a reality; but it was indeed true that he who had for years been reduced to the hard necessity of trudging about the country with a hawker's licence, abandoned by those relatives who should have protected him from such degradation, was destined to come into the possession of great wealth, which his former privations have taught him how to enjoy. His newly discovered friend furnished him with immediate letters to his agent in Calcutta. He secured a passage without delay, and after a prosperous voyage, reached the City of Palaces, whither his mother quickly repaired, with a large retinue, to receive and convey him to her own magnificent abode at Lucknow. Shortly after his arrival he sent to England for his wife, who followed in the first ship that sailed after the receipt of his letter. These latter transactions took place within the last three years. The parties are now at Lucknow, living in splendour and happiness. These few simple facts might furnish the groundwork of a romance of no ordinary interest. Their authenticity may be relied on.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE RAJPOOTNI BRIDE.

SCARCELY a day passed, during our stay at this splendid city, without something or other of novelty occurring to afford us entertainment. The Newaub's menagerie was a scene of frequent resort, but especially the palace gardens, which are laid out with great magnificence, and contain several very elegant buildings.

The Newaub had in his service a troop of Rajpoot cavalry, in which there was one of the finest men I ever beheld. He was in the prime of life, in the full vigour of his strength, remarkably expert in all the manly exercises peculiar to his tribe, and as powerful as he was active. He was pointed out to all strangers at Lucknow as a person of extraordinary qualities both of mind and body. He stood about six feet and an inch high, as erect as a column, with a frame, though not heavily muscular, yet knit with a compactness that combined elegance and strength in an unusual degree. The development was not prominent, and though rather of a spare habit, yet the contour of his frame displayed the most graceful anatomical outline, while the firm texture of the muscles showed that they were capable of more,

than ordinary exertion. The man was altogether extremely handsome, his nose being small and of perfect symmetry, his lips rather inclining to fulness, and his eyes uncommonly brilliant. He had a delicate curly moustache and but little beard. He was admired by all the women of Lucknow, nor did the men look on him with less admiration, though of a different kind: still he manifested no consciousness of superiority, save in that expression of independence inseparable from his race, and which told that he gloried in the name of Rajpoot. He was the grandson of a Hara chieftain, whose end had been as sanguinary as the cause was tragical. The recital exhibits such a faithful picture of the Rajpoot character, that I offer no excuse for introducing it here.

It happened that a feud had existed for several generations, in the families of two chieftains, a Hara and a Rahtore. Nothing can exceed the animosity which prevails among these stern and uncompromising warriors when such deadly inheritances are left them to maintain. It is next to impossible to effect a reconciliation, and it seldom or never happens but that these unnatural animosities have eventually the most fatal issues. The Hara had a daughter as celebrated for her beauty as for her energy of character and masculine understanding. Though subjected to the rigid discipline and jealous seclusion general among the daughters of Rajpoot princes, she had nevertheless partially emancipated herself from a control so repugnant to her impatient yet resolute temperament, and had not only become a partner in the counsels of her

parent, but was consulted by him upon every pressing emergency. Although

She never did apply
Hot and rebellious liquors to her blood,

she was of a fiery and daring spirit, and her father scarcely regretted being without a son, that paramount blessing of all Rajpoot marriages, in having a daughter so pre-eminently possessing the high moral energies of her race.

This extraordinary woman had been sought in marriage by many a bold aspirant, though none of the chiefs in her immediate vicinity had succeeded in securing her affections. Her beauty and vigour of mind were the theme of every tongue.

Her forehead some fair moon, her brows a bow,
Love's pointed darts her piercing eye-beams glow ;
Her breath adds fragrance to the morning air ;
At once the lover's hope and his despair ;—
Her teeth pomegranate seeds ; her smiles soft lightnings are.
Her feet like leaves of lotus on the lake
When with the passing breeze they gently shake ;
Her movements graceful as the swan that laves
His snowy plumage on the rippling waves.*

It happened that the beautiful Rajpootni was one day hunting in company with her father when a tiger, darting from a thicket, sprang upon her horse and thus put her life in immediate jeopardy. Instead of exhibiting any of the ordinary fears of her sex, she hastily shook her raven locks from her temples, and with her head undauntedly raised, her lips com-

* Broughton's translations from the Popular Poetry of the Hindoos.

pressed, and her eye flashing with a wild energy, she resolutely attacked the tiger with a dagger which she carried in her girdle, plunging it up to the very hilt in the animal's body. The excited beast, finding itself thus unexpectedly assailed, and roused to tenfold rage by the wound she had just inflicted upon it, quitted the horse and turned upon the rider. Her danger was imminent, yet she did not quail; on the contrary, her resolution seemed to increase with her peril. It was evident, notwithstanding, that she could not successfully cope with an assailant so fearful, and her father was unfortunately at too great a distance to afford her aid. At this critical moment, when with extended and foaming jaws her ferocious adversary was in the act of seizing her by the head, a young hunter darted forward on his well-conditioned steed with the swiftness of the blast, and as he shot by like a thunderbolt, with a single stroke of his sabre, severed the tiger's head from its body. The gory trunk instantly fell to the ground, leaving the intrepid huntress unscathed. The vanquished brute in its dying agonies, short as they were, fixed its claws in the flanks of the poor horse, and lacerated them so severely that it was found necessary to destroy it on the spot. The lady thus providentially rescued, looked round for her preserver, but he was at a distance urging his horse to its utmost speed; she had, nevertheless, seen sufficient of his features to distinguish that he was a Rahtore; for these Rajpoot tribes have always a something discriminative of their respective clans. This discovery was painful, as it recalled to her mind the feud which

her father was maintaining with all that vindictiveness of spirit so frequently and fearfully verified in the Rajpoot chronicles.

The old Hara, who had been sufficiently near to perceive what had happened, approached his child with a gloomy austerity of countenance, to the cause of which she was no stranger. *He too had distinguished the Rahtore: his grim silence and the stern composure of his features sufficiently expressed that he had recognized her deliverer.* Not a word was exchanged. The Rajpoot did not express, even by a look, his satisfaction at his child's escape, and she with an aspect of calm but haughty indifference, mounted a camel and accompanied her parent home without the interchange of a word. She could not, however, efface from her mind the image of the young Rahtore. His manly bearing, his strength and dexterity, fired her imagination. He was perpetually present in her dreams, and the sole object of her waking thoughts. His fine muscular frame, the clear rapid gleam of his eye, the haughty bend of his brow and animated expansion of nostril, the grace with which he rode, his prowess and skill in the use of the tulwar, or scimitar—all rose to her view in rapid succession, imbued with the colourings of an ardent prepossession, and she determined, at whatever cost, to behold the object which had thus irresistibly entranced her imagination. Her resolution was a bold one, and therefore her unbending soul maintained it with the greater pertinacity.

For some time she failed in all her efforts to obtain a sight of her deliverer. Her father watched

her with a scrutiny so unremitting that she could not evade the morbid keenness of his vigilance. She, nevertheless, contrived to employ emissaries, but in vain: they only returned to bring her the unwelcome tidings of their failure. Still disappointment seemed rather to add strength to than weaken her resolution; and notwithstanding the gloom occasionally gathering on her parent's brow, which invariably darkened to a deeper shade whenever an allusion was made to her rescue from the tiger, her determination had abated nothing: her indomitable spirit was of too high a temper to blench, though her perseverance had not been rewarded with success.

At length, as she was again one day hunting with her father in the jungle, emerging from a tangled path into a narrow vista of the wood, she saw at a distance a single horseman preceded by several attendants who appeared about to overpower him. On a nearer approach she discovered that they were, as she had suspected, part of a dacoit gang attacking a Rajput chief. She instantly spurred her horse forward and discharged an arrow at the foremost of the dacoits, who received it in his right temple and dropped dead. The others fled when they perceived that their success was coming to the rescue of their victim. Upon reaching the spot where the encounter between the dacoits and the young Rajput had taken place, she found the chief and him lying on the ground, bleeding in his throat, and desperately wounded. He had been cut down by a single stroke, and the wound, as she saw, was mortal. She perceived that it was a fatal blow, and she

senseless before her. She did not rend the air with her shrieks, but calmly tore a strip from the turban of one of her attendants, bandaged the wound tightly in order to stanch the blood, then desired that the Rahtore should be lifted into a palankeen, which had fortunately been ordered to await her commands at the skirts of the jungle, and immediately borne to the house of her father. When, on the arrival of the party at the Hara's abode, he was taken from the palankeen, the old warrior discovered that his wounded guest was the head of that clan with whom his family had been so long at strife. Though this was a galling discovery, it did not preclude the generous offices of hospitality. These were rigidly performed, yet the rancour which gnawed at the vitals of the Hara chief did not for one moment abate. Whilst, however, he gave orders that every attention should be paid to the stranger, bitterness and curses were in his heart. "May his shadow diminish," he murmured when there was no one by to catch the echo of his thoughts, "until he stalk a tortured spirit over the scene of his pilgrimage! May prosperity never spread her wings over his dwelling, but the scourge of desolation smite him and his! Should he become a husband and a parent, may his children be fatherless and his wife a widow!"

These and similar maledictions were continually in his mouth; nevertheless, it did not abate the scrupulousness of his hospitality, and the young Rahtore was tended with the most careful attention, until he was in a condition to be conveyed to his own dwelling. During the short period of his confinement under the

roof of his family foe, he had found an opportunity to declare his passion for his lovely preserver. He told her that he had long attempted to smother it, on account of the enmity mutually subsisting between their houses, but had found it impossible to do so. This was neither an unexpected nor unwelcome avowal. His young and beautiful nurse—for the daughter of the Hara chief had anxiously attended upon him—heard him therefore without surprise, but not without pleasure, and before he quitted her parent's roof, their vows of eternal attachment had been reciprocally plighted.

Although his wound had been desperate, he was not long in recovering, and when sufficiently strong to appear abroad, he made overtures to the hereditary foe of his family to bestow the hand of his daughter upon him. The old man was roused to the most ferocious indignation at a proposal which he considered so derogatory to the pride of his house, bound as he was by the stern obligation of hereditary enmity to maintain the feud so long existing between it and that of the Rahtore. He consequently rejected the proposal in terms of the harshest severity, at the same time reproaching the young warrior who had so frankly solicited an alliance with his family, with a breach of honour in having seduced the affections of his child, at a moment too when he was at the point of death under her father's roof, and receiving all the kind offices of a scrupulous hospitality. This accusation was repudiated with the wild indignation and keen sensibility of wrong peculiar to the high-spirited Rajpoot, and

thus the breach was irremediably widened. The young chief considered himself now personally insulted, and nothing but the fervency of his affection for the daughter of the man who had so wantonly aggrieved him, could have saved his aggressor from the immediate operation of his revenge. This was for the moment postponed, but a personal insult is never either forgotten or forgiven by a Rajpoot. The memory of a wrong may slumber for years, but a time seldom fails to arrive when the spark ignites, and then the combustion is indeed fearful.

The old Hara, in the excess of his indignation, accused his child of having conspired against him. His menaces were loud and bitter. Her haughty spirit was roused; her countenance was calm and her tongue mute, but the blood rushed to her heart with a momentum that agitated every fibre within, though all without appeared serene and undisturbed. The father quitted her in anger and with a harsh threat. Her pure but resolute soul recoiled from this tyranny. She felt that she had been wrongfully accused, and after the first transports of her indignation had subsided, and she was in a condition to give free scope to reflection, she became the more invincibly persuaded that she had been unjustly reproached and that an undue severity had been exercised by her parent, in endeavouring to disunite her from her first and only attachment. She thought that it was tyrannical to discourage an interchange of affection begun on the one part in a rescue of her life by the object of her heart's choice, and confirmed on the other by her having saved his.

On the following morning the old man visited his daughter; there was somewhat less of asperity in his manner than on the previous day, nevertheless, he could not speak of the Rahtore without betraying the excitement under which he laboured.

“Forget him, girl,” he cried sternly; “his shadow never can darken this portal as a member of our house. As he has eaten my salt, the vengeance of the Hara is appeased, but the feud is not extinguished, and my withering hate must fall like a blight upon him still. We are under bond of eternal enmity. It stands in indelible characters upon the dark record of my inheritance, and a testamentary obligation at once so sacred and so binding is never to be cancelled while the heart has a perception or the soul an impulse. I would sooner behold the tiger an inmate of these walls than the man whom you desire to wed. It must not be—forget him!”

“The saviour of my life,” replied the daughter in a tone of calm, measured energy indicating an unalterable resolve, “has a claim to my gratitude, and that claim can only be justly rendered by giving him what most he covets, especially since it is the boon which I would the most willingly bestow upon him. He won my affection when he won my admiration, and my esteem has since been added to both. His soul is as gentle in the areka grove as it is mighty in the dark forest, where the tiger skulks or the lion prowls. It melts as sweetly at the sound of the sitar* as it nobly swells at the blast of the war-trump.—My love is irrevocable. I may

* A kind of guitar.

not be ungrateful, father ; 'tis the vice of contemptible souls."

He saved your life and you have in return saved his ; thus the obligations of gratitude are annulled. He was ministered to in his extremity under the roof of his hereditary foe, and sent back unscathed to his own dwelling. Your debt has been fairly cancelled. If there be a balance it is on his side."

" True, father, and he is willing to lay the balance at your feet by making your daughter happy. Remember, when she was in jeopardy, to use the words of our own native bard,*

The guardian youth appeared
And, heedless of a person which enshrines
The worth of all the world, quick interposed
His powerful arm to snatch me from destruction.
For me he braved the monster's mighty blows,
Falling like thunder-strokes.

The tiger plied
His fangs and claws in vain ; the hero triumphed—
The furious savage fell beneath his sword."

" No more of this—you know me, girl ; I must hear no more. Would you bring the evil influence upon your father's house ? The very stones would cry out in indignation against you. Remember a parent's command is not to be trifled with. I brook not trifling."

She was silent, but the broad steady gleam of her eye told at once that it was not the silence of acquiescence. Her heart rose to her very throat as the Hara retired, and her determination increased in pro-

* Bhavabhuti.

portion as her feelings were suppressed. She from this moment sought an opportunity to burst the bonds of restraint and escape from a tyranny which had become in the highest degree repulsive to her energetic soul. She passed several days in the silence of her chamber, from which she seldom stirred, and the result was a resolution to thwart the tyranny of her parent's vindictive refusal, by flying to the arms of the man in whom she discovered a kindred spirit, and knew every feeling of his heart to be perfectly germane with her own. She accordingly sent him, by a trusty messenger, a picture which represented a hunter rescuing a fawn from the claws of a tiger. He readily understood the allusion and returned to her a communication in a similar hieroglyphical form, exhibiting the same hunter with the fawn nestled in his bosom and a dove flying over it, to denote the speed with which he was preparing to execute her wishes. Several other communications, and of a like kind, passed between the lovers, until there was a mutual understanding as to the course each should pursue.

The father, who had one of those indomitable tempers which is the Hara's boast, though he doted on his child as far as was compatible with his stern nature, had nevertheless treated her with uniform severity ever since she made her declaration of attachment to the Rahtore; still he entertained not the slightest suspicion that she would, under any circumstances, dare to compromise the dignity of his house by such an act of disobedience as she meditated. It was plain that he knew her not. He confided in his inflexible spirit as a safeguard against dis-honour.

felt satisfied that she would make any sacrifice, however painful, to support the glory of her race ; but amidst all this asperity of feeling, he was proud of her beauty, and it fully justified his pride.

Mark her slender form bent low,
As the zephyrs lightly blow !
Mark her robes like blossoms rare,
Scattering fragrance on the air !
Lotus-like her dewy feet
Treasures yield of nectar'd sweet ;
Lightly as her footsteps pass,
Blushes* all the bending grass ;
And rings of jewels, beauty's powers,
Freshen into living flowers,†
While brighter tints and rosier hues
All the smiling earth suffuse.‡

* The Hindoo ladies are accustomed to stain the soles of their feet with a crimson dye.

† In the East, ornaments of gold and jewels are often made in the forms of flowers.

‡ Broughton's translations from the Popular Poetry of the Hindoos.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE RAJPOOTNI BRIDE.

ONE morning the father and daughter were as usual enjoying together the pleasures of the chase, when they were separated as before. A boar having started from a thicket, was instantly pursued by the bold huntress. The animal was large, powerful, and greatly excited by a slight wound which it had received in the shoulder from one of the shikarries, whom it had immediately charged and disabled. The undaunted Rajpootni fearlessly approached the enemy; it instantly turned, struck her horse in the flank, and ploughing up the flesh, laid the ribs bare. She, however, delivered her spear with unerring precision, forcing it through the boar's body;—the savage beast rolled upon the plain and expired. This was a deed of prowess that would have done honour to any masculine arm. Whilst she was breathing her wounded steed after this rough encounter, a horseman suddenly emerged from the thicket, came up to the fair vanquisher, dismounted, placed her upon his own fiery courser, sprang up before her, then, pressing his heels against the sides of his faithful Arab, plunged into the jungle in the sight of her father and his numerous attendants. It was the Rahtore; there was no mis-

taking him. Vain was pursuit, for the fugitives were at a distance, and soon disappeared amid the thick recesses of the forest.

The venerable Hara returned from the chase imprecating curses on his child, and vowing the most deadly vengeance against her audacious paramour. The lovers, when they thought themselves beyond the reach of pursuit, slackened their speed and proceeded leisurely towards the Rahtore's abode. Immediately upon his return, the bereaved father summoned his followers to avenge the abduction of his daughter. His faithful Rajpoots were ready at his call, and upwards of three hundred men stood before him to rescue his child and inflict a signal punishment upon her ravisher. The old man prepared to march with the dawn, every dark passion of his soul boiling like a lava-flood within him. All those feelings which a fierce sense of injury now wrung from his unrelenting nature, were concentrated into one absorbing impulse of revenge. He had no energy but for hatred and vengeance, and the sullen calmness with which he prepared to execute their ruthless injunctions, at once betrayed the intensity of his savage purpose. With the full blight of his passions upon him, he proceeded to the temple of his divinity, and laid his propitiatory sacrifice upon the unhallowed altar. It was an oblation too sanguinary to be accepted by a just and merciful God:—the smoke of his incense ascended not beyond the gorgeous dome of the desecrated sanctuary. The officiating Brahmin, however, as the vicarious minister of the deity to whom the sacrifice was presented,

accepted the suppliant's offering, giving him assurance of success, upon which the spiritual tribute was doubled. The unholy worshipper then quitted the presence of the divinity to whom he had been taught thus to exhibit his demoniacal homage, with the confidence of a divine sanction for any act of desperate retribution he might commit.

The morning broke brightly upon the slumbers of the indignant father; he awoke with the heavens smiling above and around him, but with a hell burning in his heart. Mounting his charger, he proceeded in silence at the head of his followers towards the abode of his hereditary foe. His impatience of revenge rendered the journey long and distasteful. A raven perched upon a tree on the roadside as he passed, presented an unfavourable omen; nevertheless, assured by the promises of the Brahmin, he interpreted it in his own favour and to the prejudice of him by whom he had been so grievously wronged. His soul was parched with a thirst which nothing but the blood of his enemy could appease. Halting his little troop after sunset under a large grove of trees, he ordered them to refresh themselves with food and rest and waited impatiently for the dawn. The night was calm, but deepened by the shadows of the surrounding groves. The scene "suited the gloomy habit of his soul," which was as sombre as the prospect immediately around him. Nature at length gave way, and, even under the inflictions of his own fierce passions, he slept. The moon rose, and traversed the blue plains of heaven like a fair angel of light, heralded by stars and embracing in her retinue the glories of a universe;

while the wretched mortal who lay slumbering beneath the influence of her gentle effulgence saw nothing but the gloom within—was awake to nothing but the darkness of his own blighted spirit.

Meanwhile, at the Rahtore's dwelling all was harmony and rejoicing. The bridal feast was prepared; the bride and bridegroom had ratified the compact to which their hearts had been mutually pledged. They looked abroad into the clear calm sky, and hailed the celestial presence which seemed, to their glowing fancies, to smile upon their union. Their hearts were buoyant; the sounds of mirth and congratulation were in their ears. The neighbours had assembled: the tomtom,* the sitar,† the sarinda,‡ the kurtaul,§ the saringee,|| were uniting their harmonies in order to animate the guests. The voice of joy was in the feast, when it was interrupted by intelligence that the Hara chief was approaching to avenge the rape of his daughter. The banquet was abruptly suspended, and without a moment's delay the Rahtore mustered his followers. These were few, but resolute; they did not amount to more than a hundred and fifty men: nevertheless, their brave leader shrank not from the encounter, as a true Rajpoot never declines a contest, whatever the odds against him;—with him death is always preferable to disgrace.

The young bridegroom did not give the enemy time to take him by surprise, but, sallying forth, accompanied by his small yet determined band, resolved to fight to the last in defence of his honour and of his

* Drum. † Guitar. ‡ Violin. § Cymbals.

|| An instrument played at weddings.

wife, who cheered him on his departure, bidding him a prosperous issue, and adding, that she should have the pile prepared in case of his defeat. She gave him her parting benediction, and said, with subdued emotion "Should thy discomfiture be the decree of the Eternal, thy soul shall not occupy the swerga-bowers alone—thy sita* will accompany thee to the abodes of the brave." He departed with the most deadly resolves. The adverse parties met; the encounter was tremendous: there was no shrinking, neither mercy felt nor quarter given—revenge was the cry and death the issue. The weight of numbers was on the side of the Hara, but the advantage of prowess on that of the Rahtore; still nothing could withstand such fearful odds as two to one, especially where both sides were proverbially brave. The bereaved father, panting for vengeance, sought his adversary through the thickest of the fight, and at length they met. There was a deadly deliberation in the aspect of both, and the conflict was proportionably stubborn; but the declining strength of age was no match for the undiminished vigour of youth. The Hara was struck down by a blow from his adversary's sabre; fortunately, his quilted tunic resisted the stroke sufficiently to protect his body from a fatal incision. The Rahtore, when he saw his foe prostrate before him, remembering that he was the father of his bride, forbore to repeat the blow. Quitting his vanquished enemy, he plunged into the thickest of the fight, where his sword did signal execution; but his numbers momentarily diminished. It was clear that

* Sita signifies spouse.

they must be finally overpowered ; yet they maintained the unequal contest with unflinching constancy.

A hundred and eighty of the enemy had fallen ; they nevertheless still retained an overwhelming majority. Upwards of a hundred Rahtores were lying on the field of slaughter, but the fury of the fight did not slacken. The field was strewn with dead, and the survivors were every moment adding to the number of the slain. The Hara chief performed acts of valour which would not have disgraced his best days ; but his thirst of revenge was unslaked while he saw his valiant foe alive. He encountered him a second time, and defeat was again the result. At length, after a desperate struggle, the Rahtores were cut off to a man ; their leader alone escaped alive, and he quitted the field under the cover of evening, leaving but fifty of his enemies to tell the story of their sanguinary victory.

The brave though vanquished chief retired, weary and dispirited, into the neighbouring forest. He was goaded by remorse at the idea of having survived a contest in which all his companions had obtained the soldier's noblest meed—a glorious death on the field of battle, whilst he was skulking into the covert, under the veil of darkness, like a hunted beast of prey, as if to avoid a foe from whom death would now be a boon. At first his thoughts were so many goads that irritated, to an insupportable degree, the lacerations of his fiery spirit, but, in proportion as these paroxysms gave way to calm reflection, he seemed to rise above his condition and to be en-

duced with new energies. He felt his soul on a sudden expand with the contemplation of some mighty enterprise, and while every nerve within his quivering frame seemed newly strung, he uttered, in the vehemence of his excited feelings, a deep, hoarse vow of vengeance. At this moment a lion crossed his path in the clear moonlight. It appeared to be ominous of his future destiny. "Now," thought he, "here is the representative of my deadliest enemy. I will attack the monster with my sword, and, if I destroy him, it will be the pledge of my future revenge on the man to whom I owe a death. If I perish in the encounter, it will be a fortunate release at once from misery and disgrace."

He was armed with a conical shield which was strengthened by a thick brass boss, projecting from the centre, and terminating in a blunt point. Raising his heavy tulwar, he undauntedly approached the lion, which had by this time manifested symptoms of hostility so fearfully indicative of its deadly intentions. Its head was slightly depressed: its eyes glared with appalling ferocity: it licked its quivering chaps, opening every now and then its vast mouth as if to show the formidable weapons with which its jaws were armed. The Rahtore, nothing dismayed by these preliminary menaces, approached the grim savage with a quick step, dashed his shield violently against its head, and struck it so vigorous a blow across the skull as to cleave it in twain. The beast fell instantly dead before him. He smiled savagely as he saw it extended at his feet, as impotent to harm him as the earth-worm above which it lay.

Returning pensively from the spot, he approached his home with a sad and ominous presentiment. He dreaded to encounter the reproaches of his bride, who, he knew, would not think favourably of his escape from a field which had terminated so disastrously for him. There was a weight upon his spirits which he could not shake off, but, trusting to the strength of her young affections, he bent forward with some confidence to meet her. When he reached the house which during the previous day had resounded with the bridal festivity, he found the door barred, and was thus denied an entrance to his home. Thinking that this might have been done in order to prevent surprise from the enemy, he knocked with a determined but trembling hand. He who had fearlessly braved death in its most appalling forms, cowered before the anticipated indignation of a woman. As the door was not opened, he struck upon it with the hilt of his scimitar.

"Who knocks?" calmly asked a voice from within, which he instantly recognised, and his heart thrilled with the tenderest emotions.

"Thy bridegroom, my sita," he replied with the energy of awakened passion; "open, and bid him welcome."

"Hah! how went the battle?" inquired the Rajpootni in the same unimpassioned but somewhat stern tone, that sent a cold chill through the whole mass of his blood.

"Against us. I alone am left to tell the sad tale of defeat. Every Rahtore, save myself, lies upon the bloody field. It was in truth a contest of extermina-

tion. Seeing that all was lost, I saved a worthless life for thy sake. Open, love."

"To whom?"

"Thy husband."

"I have none. He perished on the bloody field from which thou hast ignobly fled. He never would have returned but with victory on his brow."

"Dost thou deny me, sita?—thy bridegroom of yesterday—thy champion for ever!"

"He who called me bride, has taken his draught of the amreeta-cup.* He was no recreant to retire from the field of glory and leave the sable garland of death upon every head but his own. He never would have saved an inglorious life to skulk through the world with the brand of infamy upon him. My husband was no coward. Thou art a stranger to this desolate bosom. Go from the door of the widow-bride who knows the sacrifice due to one who is dead to her for ever."

The Rahtore was deeply stung with the reproof. It fell like a blight upon his heart. He felt the full force of her calm but haughty interdiction, and quailed beneath that heroism which abashed his own. He was repudiated by her who was the magnet to which all his affections clung with a tenacity that even her scorn could not subdue. She stigmatized him with the name of coward; she refused him admittance to her presence; she denied that he any longer retained an influence over her affections; she scorned, she rejected him. She had talked of a sacrifice, and the most fearful apprehensions began to take possession of

* The cup of immortality.

his mind. He knew her resolved energy of purpose, her uncompromising notions of honour, her recklessness of suffering, her high sense of conjugal obligations, and her scrupulosity in adhering to the most rigid observances which custom had, as it were, sanctified among the caste of which it was her pride to be a member. Dreading the fearful import of her words, and knowing the austere bent of her determination, he struck again fiercely on the door with his shield, at the same time entreating, in a tone of the most pathetic persuasion, that she would immediately admit him. She did not condescend to reply. In the desperation of his mental agony, he repeated the stroke with all his might, and such was the force of the blow that the door flew open as if an engine had been directed against it. Rushing instantly into the house, with a look of wild inquiry, he saw not the object of his search. The apartment in which the bridal festivity had been held was deserted, and his heart throbbed heavily as a most horrible presentiment passed darkly across his mind.

He passed into a second chamber; the mistress was not there. Her maidens were in tears. He inquired, with an expression of agonizing apprehension, where was his beloved. They pointed distractedly towards an enclosure at the back of the house, maintaining an ominous silence. He flew to the spot and found all his worst fears most awfully verified.

Immediately upon her husband's departure for the field, the unhappy bride had ordered the pile to be raised, with the determination of sacrificing herself

upon it, according to the custom of her race, should the object of her tenderest attachment perish in the encounter. She knew the disparity of numbers between the hostile parties, and was therefore prepared for the worst. When the distracted bridegroom entered the enclosure in which his devoted sita had erected the funeral pile, with a convulsed countenance and bursting heart he beheld her already upon the burning fabric. The flames were rapidly ascending to do the work of death, while she stood erect and undaunted with an expression of stern determination on her countenance that absolutely appalled him. Her eye gleamed with a portentous energy, and as he entered was riveted upon him with a look of withering scorn. Her clothes were already on fire, and her limbs dreadfully scorched, yet she stirred not a muscle; her whole frame seemed fixed like a rock amid the desert upon which the lightnings flash with harmless impetuosity. The Rahtore approached her hurriedly, but she raised her arm, forbidding his advance. He was in a moment riveted to the spot. He dared not interrupt the voluntary sacrifice to which she was now submitting. Her eye moved not from him, and never for a moment relaxed its expression of indignant disdain.

By this time the fire had made dreadful inroads upon her lovely frame; still she discovered not the slightest indication of an agony too intense and terrible for description. Her features maintained the same fearful immobility. In a few moments her legs gave way and she fell upon her knees, the flames entirely encircling her. Every now and then, how-

ever, a gust of wind blew the fire from its victim, and discovered her for an instant with the same expression of lofty indignation marked in every lineament of her majestic countenance. The skin of her arms burst and curled up like a scroll of parchment;* the sinews snapped, but she looked upon the havoc which the flames were making upon her beautiful body with a smile of bitter derision, as if she defied their power to inflict suffering. At length her eyes appeared to start from their sockets; she fell backward into the flames, and a period was put at once to her heroism and her agony.

The miserable Rahtore watched beside the pile until her body was completely consumed, when he gathered the ashes together, and placing them in a jar, deposited it on the hearth of the apartment which had been the scene of the marriage revels. Then putting on the saffron robe,† he sallied forth to meet death and to accomplish his revenge. Not a tear moistened his eyes—they were dry and bloodshot. His heart was marble, and every muscle of his compact frame seemed stiffened into unison with the unbending purpose of his soul. The night was dark as the tone and aspect of his mind. The cry of the prowling jackall was a melody to his ears more musical than the sweet serenade of the bulbul,‡ which he had listened to in the days of his joy. He crept stealthily through the jungle, like a tiger lurking for

* I once witnessed a similar circumstance at a Suttee which took place in the neighbourhood of Poonah.

† When a Rajpoot puts on the saffron robe, he devotes himself to death.

‡ The Indian nightingale.

its prey, lest he should be observed by any of the enemy's scouts. He at length gained the tent of his mortal adversary, who had been long hushed in slumber after the fatigues of that sanguinary day.

The Rahtore, covered by the darkness, reached the opening of the tent, which was negligently guarded, as it was known that the adverse party had been cut off to a man, and their chief was even supposed to be among the slain. He found no impediment—all was still as death. He entered. A dim lamp, which threw a heavy ochreous light around, was burning on the ground, near which lay the Hara chief upon a coarse rug, and covered with a common palampore.* A sardonic smile passed over the convulsed features of the Rahtore as he gazed upon the prostrate form before him. Withdrawing his eyes for a moment from his victim, an expiration of the deepest bitterness slowly escaped from his labouring bosom. He drew his sword; it gleamed faintly in the lamp-light. He tore the covering from his sleeping foe, standing over him like an avenging demon to whom the cry of pity would have been at once a mockery and a provocation. The old man started from his sleep, instantly grasped his sabre, but, ere he could raise his arm, he fell a headless trunk at the feet of the vindictive Rahtore.

The noise occasioned by this work of destruction was heard by the guards, who immediately rushed in. When they saw a Rajpoot standing in the safron robe, they but too well knew what had been his purpose, and a single glance sufficed to show how terribly he had accomplished it. He deliberately bestrode the body

* Counterpane.

of his prostrate enemy, and, darting a look of fierce defiance at the intruders, pointed with a grim smile at the reeking corpse over which he was standing in ferocious triumph. The guards rushed forward to avenge the death of their chief, and the Rahtore, in the paroxysm of desperation, soon laid three of them dead at his feet. His weapon was raised to immolate another victim, when he received a javelin in the temple and fell dead.

Thus ended this sanguinary feud, of which many instances are recorded equally terrible in the annals of Rajpoot warfare.*

* They who are acquainted with the history of this extraordinary race will not be surprised at the details of this sad narrative.

CHAPTER XV.

GARDEN HOUSES AT LUCKNOW.—PARIAHS.

THE day before we quitted Lucknow we paid a visit to the Newaub to take leave and thank him for his hospitality. We were received in a splendid apartment of the palace, in which the prince was seated upon a Persian carpet covered with rich devices, and smoking a hooka through a mouthpiece studded with jewels. He treated us with great complacency and kindness, and, after a few minutes' conversation on indifferent topics, we withdrew. Upon quitting the Newaub, we repaired to the garden of the palace which was laid out with great magnificence and taste.

The buildings represented in the engraving are merely garden-houses, constructed of brick and beautifully stuccoed with chunam; they are raised on chaupoutres,* with steps to ascend from the garden to the first story. They are spacious, having broad terraced roofs, and at each angle a small cupola covered with the same delicate stucco. Some of them are surmounted by an elegant square canopy with curtains depending from the four sides. These canopies are

* Platforms.

supported upon small pointed arches; and here is a delightful retreat from the heat of the noonday sun. The interior of the garden-houses is divided into apartments, which are occupied by the different functionaries to whom the charge of the gardens is committed. Although the exterior effect of these buildings is sufficiently imposing, they nevertheless do not present much attraction to the traveller, except as forming part of the palace of this distinguished city. Though less costly in their structure, it must be allowed that they are more picturesque than some of the grander edifices. In the distance is the mosque before-mentioned, built by Asoph ud Dowlah.

Quitting Lucknow, we proceeded towards Juanpoor. On our route we found some of the large nullahs that intercepted our path so much swollen by the rain which had lately fallen, that we could not cross them without difficulty. At length, by a most simple contrivance we passed over them very securely. From a neighbouring village we obtained a charpoy, or small narrow bed, the legs of which were inserted into four large earthen vessels of a globular shape, with small mouths, called cudjree pots; each aperture was covered by the frame, so as to exclude the access of the water. When launched upon the stream, the charpoy floated buoyantly upon the surface, and we thus easily accomplished our transit, being drawn over upon this slight machine by a rope, together with our palankeens and baggage. This portable bridge we took with us: it was consigned to the care of two coolies,* who were a brace of pariahs, and I could not help noticing, on

* Porters.

one occasion, with a feeling of painful compassion towards these poor outcasts, the indignation with which a high-cast Hindoo dashed an earthen jar of milk upon the ground, and broke it to atoms, merely because the shadow of the pariah had fallen upon it as he passed.

This numerous tribe are in a condition of the most abject degradation; the worst state of bondage would be comparative blessedness if substituted for the position in which they stand among the communities that surround them. They are considered by the higher order of Hindoos, and in fact by every caste above their own, not only utterly despicable in this world, but aliens from the beatitudes of another. The indignities heaped upon them in consequence are repugnant to humanity: nothing can exceed the heartless scorn with which they are everywhere met. They are denied the common social privileges of man, and degraded below the vilest of the brute creation. The pariah is forbidden communion with all but his own immediate tribe, and whatever even his shadow overcasts, belonging to a person of superior rank, is deemed polluted. If it be food of any kind, it is thrown away; if anything of a frangible nature, it is destroyed; and if a thing of value, it is only to be recovered from its contamination by the most rigorous purifications.

These unhappy beings are held in such utter abhorrence by the whole Hindoo population, that the laws of the latter award no punishment for the murder of a pariah, save that of a small fine, and which is seldom enforced, except in very aggravated cases. The occupation of this despised race consists in the

most disgusting offices: they are the scavengers of the cities and villages; they perform all kinds of servile and filthy duties, and from their wretched manner of living are subject to loathsome diseases. So impure are they in the eyes of a Brahmin, that they dare not appear in his presence without subjecting themselves to the penalty of death or some punishment but little short of it. Should a person of any other caste condescend to speak to a pariah, the latter is obliged to place his hand before his mouth, lest the breath of a being so depraved should taint the atmosphere which the former breathes, and thus render him impure. These miserable outcasts are neither allowed to enter a temple nor admitted to the privileges of any religious communion. While the higher order of Hindoo thinks it meritorious to save the life of a noxious reptile, he would esteem it meritorious to destroy a pariah.

Although the Brahmin, who, when spiritualized by mortification and penances, frequently holds himself to be only second to an avatar of his god, looks upon the pariah as a creature unworthy even of those sympathies which he deems to be due to the brute, still, so great is the reverence in which these abjected aliens hold the Brahmins, that they will worship the very ground which they consider to have been hallowed by their footsteps. Scorned as they are by every other class and excluded from all reputable communion with their fellow-men, they are reduced to the necessity of wandering about as vagabonds whom it is held an abomination to relieve and meritorious to spurn. Should the bitterest privations overtake them, they are left unpitied to linger out the agonies of a

hopeless existence, or to resort to those desperate modes of obtaining their daily bread which render them still more odious among the communities by whom they are denied the natural privileges of social beings. Thus abandoned, and smarting under the stigma of unmerited degradation, they frequently repair to the jungles, where they conceal themselves from the sight of those who behold them with such indignity, and live in a state of moral desuetude, prowling savagely for human prey, like the beasts of the forest.

Their hand is against every man, and every man's hand is against them. They often have recourse to dacoity, that system of lawless plunder which is carried to excess in India; and when this is the case, they naturally become desperate and ferocious robbers. Is this to be wondered at? Can we be surprised if in their social position they should hold it a law of equity to wage a war of general extermination? Is there not much to be said in extenuation of poor wretches driven, as they are, to the hopelessness of desperation? They sometimes, it is true, wreak a terrible retaliation upon their oppressors, and think themselves justified in doing so. Will it be matter of wonder that the crushed adder should turn and sting? But although they occasionally commit acts of great predal enormity, they nevertheless more commonly submit to dreadful privations with the greatest fortitude, frequently skulking from the jungles, where they have lived upon the fruits of the forest until these have ceased to supply the cravings of nature, and seeking the banks of the Ganges, when, under the cover of

night, and with no eye but that of the casual passenger to behold them, they have been known to drag on shore human carcasses that were floating down the stream, and, like the hungry vulture, satisfy the longings of a morbid appetite upon this unnatural provision, while in a state of the most disgusting decomposition.

It is indeed shocking to think that such horrors are to be witnessed in a highly civilized country, the people of which are often eminent for their mildness and humanity. But revolting as is the very contemplation of such a humiliating fact, it will nevertheless appear that this description of cannibalism is not confined to the poor despised pariah.

“ I will go a step further,” says Mr. Moore, “ and say that not only do Hindoos, even Brahmins, eat flesh, but that at least one sect eat human flesh. I know only of one sect, and that I believe few in number, who do this, but there may, for aught I can say, be others, and more numerous. They do not, I conclude, (in our territory assuredly not,) kill human subjects to eat, but they do eat such as they find in or near the Ganges, and perhaps other rivers. The name of the sect I allude to is, I think, Paramahansa, as I have commonly heard it named ; and I have received authentic information of individuals of this sect being not very unusually seen about Benares, floating down the river upon a human body, and feeding on it. Nor is this a low despicable tribe, but, on the contrary, esteemed, by themselves at any rate, a very high one. Whether this exaltation be legitimate or assumed by individuals, in consequence of penance or

holy and sanctified acts, I am not prepared to state but I believe the latter, as I have known other instances where individuals of different sects, by persevering in extraordinary piety or penance, have been deemed in a state incapable of sin. The holiness of the actor sanctified the act, be it what it may ; or, as we say, ‘ to the pure all things are pure.’ But I never heard of these voluptuous saints carrying their devotion or impudence to the disgusting extravagance under our consideration. They are still much respected ; more, however, under all their shapes by women than by men.

“ I will finish my notice of the Paramahansa by observing that my information stated, that the human brain is judged by these epicurean cannibals as the most delicious morsel of their unsocial banquet.” *

In the ninth volume of the Asiatic Researches, in an account by Major Mackenzie of the Jains,—a sect remarkable for their humanity, and it is against the express law of their religion to put any animal to death—there is the following remarkable passage, referring to the Buddhists, who also consider it a deadly sin to take away animal life. It would lead to the inference that these latter are likewise cannibals. “ The Jains generally account modestly for all their tenets, and conduct themselves with propriety ; and never assert that their bodies are eternal and that there is no God. Nor do they, like the Buddhists, say after death there is no pain in the flesh nor feeling ; since it feels not pain nor death, what

* Miscellaneous notice of the Brahmins and Hindoos. Vide Hindoo Pantheon, page 352.

harm is there in feeding upon it when it is necessary to procure health and strength?" If this passage does not go so far as to prove that the Buddhists are cannibals, it is at least a justification of cannibalism.

Dr. Leyden, in his dissertation on the language and literature of the Indo-Chinese nations,* gives an extraordinary account of anthropophagy practised in the island of Sumatra, where the people in general are by no means uncivilized.

"When a man becomes infirm and weary of the world, he is said to invite his own children to eat him. In the season when salt and limes are cheapest, he ascends a tree round which his offspring and friends assemble; and, shaking the tree, they join in a dirge, the burthen of which is this:—the season is come, the fruit is ripe, and it must descend! The victim descends, when those who are nearest and dearest to him, deprive him of life, and devour his remains in a solemn banquet."

The landscape between Lucknow and Juanpoor, especially near the former city, presents at times the same artificial appearance as an English park. Upon our approach to the latter town, several fine old mosques for which it is remarkable, rose sublimely in the distance, affording an agreeable relief to the unvarying aspect of the surrounding scenery. As we approached the bridge they opened in full view before us, and forced from us an exclamation of involuntary admiration. The Atoulah kau Musjid is one of the most highly finished structures of its kind in Hindostan. It is only second in magnificence and in the

* Vide ninth volume of the Asiatic Researches.

costliness of its materials to the celebrated Taje Mahal. And when we remember that it was built full two hundred years before, the expenditure may be considered as falling little short of that laid out upon the more gorgeous structure.

The Atoulah kau Musjid is said to have cost seventy lacs of rupees, or upwards of eight hundred thousand pounds; and the view of this grand edifice fully justifies the supposition that the amount of the outlay has not been exaggerated. This temple is highly venerated by all pious Moslems, who hold it only second in reverence to the Prophet's shrine at Mecca. We were admitted into the interior without the slightest difficulty; for, unlike the Turks, the Mahomedans in India are generally extremely courteous to strangers, and express no repulsive hostility to Christians. The most gorgeous portion of the interior is the central aisle, that rises to a great height, being divided into several stories, and covered by a vast-dome which has a panelled ceiling ornamented with very elaborate decorations.* The basement of this aisle represents a square rising to the height of about twenty feet, when the angles are intersected, their number being thereby increased to eight. Here is the termination of the first story, round which there is a gallery divided into recesses, and adorned with the most exquisite tracery. At the termination of the second story, where there is also a gallery similarly decorated, the angles are again intersected and increased to sixteen; each story thus graduating towards circularity until the angles fade before the

* See frontispiece.

eye in the altitude, leaving a perfect circle, the whole terminating in a dome of great extent, and magnificently ornamented. The doorways at the base, of which there are nine, and the cornices above them, are covered with a profusion of minute but admirable architectural embellishments ; the floor is beautifully paved with a fine smooth stone almost as closely grained as marble, and much more durable. It has resisted the wear of four centuries without exhibiting the least roughness of surface.

The entrance to this fine mosque is very striking. The external doorway is flanked by two square masses of stone-work which rise, on either side, to the height of at least eighty feet. These buttresses are united by a wall traversing the top of the arch, and surmounted by a parapet enclosing a spacious terrace. The arch of the entrance is sunk several feet beneath the external surface of the stone buttresses, which are embellished at intervals with a rich tracery, in bold relief. The centre of the arch extends as high as the base of the transverse wall, and the spandrels are covered with different devices, skilfully wrought in the solid marble with which they are cased. The stone of which this sacred edifice is built is of so firm a texture and of so durable a quality, that the angles of the various carvings are just as sharp as the first moment they were finished. This mosque has no minarets, and therefore differs, though in no other respect, from the generality of Mahomedan temples. The terrace over the entrance is the spot whence the priest announces the hour of prayer.

CHAPTER XVI.

WHITE ANTS.—BENARES.—INFANTICIDE.

DURING our stay at Juanpoor, we were so annoyed by white ants, that we were glad to escape from this intolerable nuisance and proceed on our way to Benares. These extraordinary insects are one of the greatest marvels in natural history. They are the most destructive creatures of their size in the universe. Nothing but stone or metal can resist their powers of devastation. They will pass through a whole shelf of books in an incredibly short space of time. In a single night they will make their way into a strong wooden trunk, and ruin everything it contains. I have known them perforate a thick stake of at least ten inches in diameter, leaving nothing but the bark entire, so that what appeared strong enough to support a large building, crumbled at the touch like a piece of tinder. They abound more or less in every part of India, though they prefer a soil where clay is readily to be obtained, as they use vast quantities in the construction of their populous habitations. One of their cantonments will cover a surface of at least fifty square yards, and rises sometimes to the height of twenty feet. In particular districts these are so numerous, that they appear like small villages in

ruins dotting the surface of the plain. These singular insects form a community under the government of a king and queen. The population is divided into three classes. The first class comprises the belligerent portion, which are always prepared to defend their habitations from the assaults of an enemy, and they inflict so sharp a wound when intruded upon, as immediately to make the blood copiously flow. The second division includes those which perform all the labours of their community; these build their tenements and repair whatever breaches may be made either by foes or accident. The third class consists of those that propagate. From these they select kings and queens which almost immediately emigrate and erect new states, that shortly become crowded with a busy and destructive population.

When they fix upon an object of destruction they first cover it with a thin coat of clay moistened by their own secretions; under this crust are innumerable passages in which they work unseen, and with the most destructive celerity. Here they labour in perfect security until they consume the whole material, finally leaving nothing but the artificial incrustation with which they had overspread it, and which assumes the exact form of the object destroyed.

“They generally enter the body of a large tree,” says an observing traveller, “which has fallen through age or has been thrown down by violence, on the side next the ground, and eat away at their leisure within the bark, without giving themselves the trouble either to cover it on the outside or to replace the wood which

they have removed from within, being somehow sensible that there is no necessity for it. These excavated trees have deceived me several times in running; for attempting to step two or three feet high I might as well have attempted to step upon a cloud and have come down with such unexpected violence that besides shaking my teeth and bones almost dislocation, I have been precipitated head foremost among the neighbouring trees and bushes.”*

Their communities are so numerous that the destruction of myriads makes no sensible diminution, and in some ungenial localities, they are such a continuous nuisance, as to have a considerable influence upon man's social comforts. The queen is incredibly prolific and will produce upwards of eighty thousand eggs within twenty-four hours. And what is extraordinary in the civil organization, if I may so speak of this little commonwealth is, that the king and queen have a host of retainers constantly in waiting: soon as the latter lays her eggs, they are carried to different cells, at a distance from the state apartment, where they are carefully deposited, and when hatched, the new-born insects are attended with most vigilant circumspection, until able to provide for themselves and share in the labours of their community.

These creatures are so fond of paper that they never fail to make great havoc among the books that happen to be within their reach. The only protection from their depredations is a binding of Ru

* See Mr. Smeathman's account of the White Ant, in the seventy-first volume of the Philosophical Transactions.

leather, which they will not touch, being repelled by the strong odour that escapes from this valuable material.

After we quitted Juanpoor nothing occurred worth recording until we came in sight of Benares—that celebrated city called the splendid, containing the most renowned seminaries of Hindoo learning to be found in Hindostan, a more detailed account of which will be found in the first volume of this work. As we approached the city we were induced to moor our budgerow and land, in order that we might witness the Churrack Pooja—one of those revolting inflictions which some particular orders of devotees undergo, together with such unhappy Hindoos as have had the misfortune to lose their caste; the former to enhance their claims to a blessed immortality, the latter to recover that temporal superiority over a large portion of their fellow beings which the well known distinction of caste confers. A man frequently loses his caste by circumstances over which he can have no control, such as the casual contact of a pariah whom he might not have known to be within his vicinity, or eating out of a polluted vessel, though not at the time aware of its pollution.

I once happened to be present when a sepoy, of high caste, falling down in a fit, the military surgeon ordered one of the pariah attendants of the regimental hospital to throw some water over him, in consequence of which none of his class would associate with him, and he was considered to have forfeited the privileges of clanship. The result was, that as soon as the afternoon's parade was over, he put the muzzle of his musket to his head and blew out his brains. Al-

though, however, the distinction upon which the Hindoo so highly prides himself is often thus easily forfeited, it is not to be regained but by undergoing either severe mortification or some terrible infliction, which happened to be the case in the instance I am about to record.

On landing we found a large concourse of people assembled, and forming a circle of about twenty yards in diameter, in the centre of which was a strong pole fixed upright in the ground. On the top of this pole a transverse bamboo, sufficiently strong to sustain the weight of a man, was attached to a moveable pivot, so that it could be swung either vertically or circularly as occasion might require. The insertion of the transverse bamboo was about one-third part from the end, leaving two-thirds on the other side, to which was attached a cord that reached the ground. At the extremity of the shorter division was a pulley from which a strong cord depended about the size of a man's middle finger, having two ends, to which were affixed a pair of bright steel hooks. Both the vertical and cross poles were of bamboo, which is extremely tough and difficult to break. When the apparatus was prepared, a Brahmin, who is usually the functionary on these occasions, advanced to the centre of the area, and having anointed the points of the hooks with a small portion of ghee, from a sacred vessel especially set apart for this holy purpose, he beckoned to the person about to undergo this trying ordeal. The penitentiary was a handsome man, in the full vigour of manhood, and had lost his caste by eating interdicted food during a voyage from Calcutta

to China, whither he had gone as servant to the captain of the ship.

On perceiving the Brahmin's signal, he advanced without the slightest indication of alarm, but rather with an expression of joy on his countenance, at the idea of being restored to that position among the members of his own peculiar caste, which he had unhappily forfeited. He was stripped to the loins, having nothing on but the cummerbund and a pair of white linen trowsers which reached about halfway down his thigh. He was a muscular man and rather tall:—he came forward with a firm step. Upon reaching the place of expiation, he knelt down under the cord to which the two bright hooks were attached. Gently raising his hands, and clasping them together in a posture of devotion, he continued for a few moments silent, then suddenly elevating his head, declared himself ready to undergo the penance that should release him from the stains of his recent pollution. The moment his assent was announced, a burst of acclamation was heard from the surrounding multitude. The officiating Brahmin then took the hooks, and with a dexterity that showed he was no novice in his sacred vocation, slipped them under the dorsal muscles just beneath the shoulders. This operation was so instantaneously and so adroitly managed, that scarcely a drop of blood followed. Not a muscle of the man's countenance stirred: all his features seemed stiffened into an expression of resolved endurance which imparted a sort of sublime sternness to every lineament. Not even the slightest quiver of his lip was perceptible,

and his eye glistened with thrilling lustre as he raised his head after the hooks had been fixed. His resolution was as painful as it was astonishing. At a certain signal from the presiding functionary, he started from his recumbent posture and stood with his head erect, calmly awaiting the consummation of his dreadful penalty. After a short interval he was suddenly raised into the air and swung round with the most frightful velocity by a number of half frantic Hindoos who had stationed themselves for this purpose at the other extremity of the transverse pole. They ran round the area at their utmost speed, yelling and screaming, while their cries were rendered still more discordant by a deafening accompaniment of tomtoms, tobries, kurtauls, and other instruments so familiar to Indian devotees, and which are indispensable on these and similar solemn occasions, producing anything rather than "a concord of sweet sounds."

The velocity with which the poor man was swung round prevented any one from accurately observing his countenance, though, during one or two pauses made by his tormentors, who became shortly fatigued with the violence of their exertions, there was no visible expression of suffering. Had he uttered a cry, it would at once have neutralized the effect of the penance, though I do not think it could have been heard through the din by which this terrible ceremonial was accompanied. The ministering brahmins, however, are said to have a perception of sound so acute on these occasions, that the slightest cry of the victim never escapes their ear.

After this barbarous ceremony had continued for about twenty minutes, the man was let down, the hooks extracted from his back, and he really seemed little or nothing the worse for the torture he must have undergone. He walked steadily forward amid the acclamations of the surrounding multitude, and followed by his friends, who earnestly offered him their congratulations on the recovery of his caste.

Accidents of a very serious nature have been occasionally known to happen during the infliction of these fearful penances, though such occurrences are, I believe, rare. Should the cord chance to break, the suspended person is propelled forward under the influence of such a powerful impulse, that he is invariably killed on the spot. When this occurs, it is imputed to the magnitude of his sins, and he is immediately cast upon the funeral-pile, neither pitied nor lamented. I have heard a circumstance related by a person once present at the ceremony of the Churrack Pooja when the muscles of the back gave way, the penitent being of considerable bulk, and on his being immediately lowered, the mischief was so extensive, that the wretched man died soon after he was released from the hooks. These things are really too dreadful to be permitted in a civilised country ; but in India custom is a positive and indeed a paramount law, and is therefore implicitly followed. " Inmemorial custom," says their imaginary lawgiver, " is transcendant law, approved in the sacred scripture and in the codes of divine legislators ; let every man, therefore, of the three principal classes who has a due reverence for the supreme Spirit which dwells in

him, diligently and constantly observe immemorial custom." *

On landing at Benares we passed a ruined bridge over the Bernar, one of the rivers from which the city takes its present name, and pitched our tents near the Bernar pagoda, situated upon the banks of that beautiful stream. From hence the view of Benares, looking up the Ganges, exactly realizes the interesting description given of it by the great Abul Fazil. "Baranassey," says this remarkable man, in the third volume of his history, "commonly called Benares, is a large city situated between two rivers, the Bernar and the Assey; in ancient books it is called Kassey the splendid. It is in the form of a bow, and the river Ganges resembles the bowstring." The truth of this latter part of the description will be at once verified by a reference to the accompanying view of it, taken from the bank of the river near the Bernar pagoda.

This latter structure has not much to recommend it to the notice of travellers, except its picturesque position on the bank of the river. It falls far short of the splendour of many similar sanctuaries of Hindoo devotion; it is, however, an agreeable object, and there is an air of simple antiquity about it which redeems its less attractive features. We had pitched our tents so near it as to be considerably incommoded by the swarms of devotees who frequented it with a most boisterous piety at so early an hour as greatly to interrupt our repose; and the situation, moreover, being exposed to the full action of the sun,

* Institutes of Menu, chap. i. sect. 108.

we were soon glad to change our quarters for a locality more agreeable, at least, if not more convenient: we therefore struck our tents, crossed the river, and pitched them opposite to Aurungzebe's mosque, of which a detailed account has been given in a former portion of this work.

In the neighbourhood of this populous city, one of the greatest victories has been achieved over a most barbarous superstition recorded in the history of mankind. It was here that Mr. Duncan first severed the root of an evil which had spread with the most devastating influence over several extensive and populous districts; it was here that the savage custom of infanticide, once so prevalent among a limited, indeed, but very influential portion of the Hindoo population, was finally extinguished, and our benevolent countryman became the saviour of thousands of infants, who have grown up to bless his name and to show the triumph of a moral administration over the barbarous rites of superstition and the errors of prejudice.

The people among whom this horrible custom originally prevailed, and among whom it even now exists, though practised to a comparatively trifling extent, are Rajpoots, who, from the difficulty of providing proper matches for their female children, immolate them upon the altar of a fierce and revolting pride. A Rajpoot never bestows his daughter unless upon one who is not merely her equal in rank, but is likewise able to maintain for her that social superiority which the parent conceives her born to claim; and the horrors of degradation of any kind are so great among

this haughty race as to rend asunder, not only the common ties of humanity, but the links of natural affection. Before Mr. Duncan was appointed resident at Benares, now nearly fifty years ago, infanticide prevailed to a deplorable extent among certain Rajpoot tribes residing in this extensive district; and every effort hitherto made by the British government to check a long-established and widely-spreading evil had entirely failed: the vigilance of the magistracy was baffled, and these murders were constantly taking place in defiance of the ties of paternity and the highest obligations of nature. By indefatigable assiduity, by conciliating the prejudices of a haughty and powerful people, and by adopting the most energetic measures, Mr. Duncan eventually succeeded in greatly diminishing, though not in completely eradicating, this evil in the province over which he presided. The moment the extent of his success became known, his benevolent example was followed by others in different parts of the country, with more opposition, indeed, and not certainly for the moment with equally signal success. Colonel Walker, then political resident at Broach, succeeded in a great measure in suppressing this unnatural practice through a large extent of territory. The difficulties which he encountered in realizing his laudable efforts to exterminate so odious a custom from among an influential and enlightened community, are scarcely to be conceived; nevertheless those efforts were eventually crowned with success. The Jarejahs, a tribe among whom infanticide was practised to a dreadful extent, account for its origin as follows.

They relate that a certain powerful Rajah of their caste, who had a daughter of singular beauty and accomplishments, desired his rajgur, or family Brahmin, to affiance her to a prince of desert and rank equal to her own. The rajgur travelled over many countries without discovering a chief who possessed the requisite qualities ; for where he found wealth and power combined, personal accomplishments and virtue were defective ; and, in like manner, when the advantages of the mind and body were united, those of fortune and rank were wanting. The rajgur returned, and reported to the prince that his mission had not proved successful. This intelligence gave the Rajah much concern, as the Hindoos reckon it to be the first duty of parents to provide suitable husbands for their daughters, and it is reproachful that they should pass the age of puberty without having been affianced and be under the necessity of living in a state of celibacy. The Prince rejected and strongly reprobated every match for his daughter which he conceived inferior to her high rank and perfections. In this dilemma, he consulted his rajgur, and the Brahmin advised him to avoid the censure and disgrace which would attend the princess's remaining unmarried by having recourse to the desperate expedient of putting her to death. The father was at first deaf to the proposal, and remonstrated against the murder of a woman, which, enormous as it is represented in the Sastra,* would be aggravated when committed on his own offspring. The rajgur at length removed the Rajah's scruples by consenting to load himself with

* One of the sacred books of the Hindoos.

the guilt, and to become in his own person responsible for all the consequences of the sin. The princess was accordingly put to death, and female infanticide was from that time practised among the Jarejahs.*

Whether this be really the origin of female infanticide or not, it is certain that the motive for its practice among the Rajpoots is the same—the difficulty of finding suitable matches for their daughters. But, it may naturally be asked, why not allow them to live unmarried? Because among the Hindoos celibacy is considered a family disgrace, and so universal is this feeling, that there is scarcely to be found an unmarried female of high caste throughout the whole extent of the Indian peninsula. Children are affianced to each other in their infancy, when not more than three or four years old, and girls at that tender age are frequently betrothed to very old men, when the match is considered advantageous; so that an old maid is as rare in Hindostan as common in Europe. Mr. Moor, the ingenious author of the Hindoo Pantheon, tells a story sufficiently amusing, and at the same time strongly corroborative of the fact stated.

“Nana Firnaveze, prime minister of the Mahratta empire—the Pitt of India—lost his wife in 1796, when he was rather an old man, and as he was infirm withal, it was not expedient that he should marry, as is usual, a mere infant, and his brahminical brethren sought far and near, and for a long time sought in vain, for an unmarried marriageable Brahminee of a

* See Report from Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Walker, dated Baroda, 15th March 1808, of the measures pursued by him for the suppression of infanticide in Kathywar or Guzerat.

respectable family. At length one was found remote from the metropolis, at Kolapore, near Goa, and he married her. So little, however, was this success calculated upon, that a reason was expected and given for it. It appeared that this lady in her infancy had been afflicted with some personal debility that had prevented her early betrothment; this had suddenly been removed about the time of Nana's predicament, and he was thus deemed fortunate in finding a damsel under such suitable circumstances."

It may seem extraordinary to Europeans, who have been accustomed to hear of the extreme reluctance which the Hindoos feel to destroy animal life, that there should exist among them such savage customs as an intimate acquaintance with their history and social habits will certainly unfold; for, although their moral and civil code, contained in the Institutes of Menu, exhibits in general a system of rigid morality, corporeal forbearance, and an absence of everything like Draconic severity, except in cases of extreme guilt—nevertheless, there is perhaps no country in the world equally civilized where so many sanguinary practices prevail. This is a problem very difficult to solve, except we admit the general solution, which after all is probably the right one, that every faculty of the mind and natural prejudice of the heart yields to the force of custom, which reconciles us to the greatest moral contrarieties.

Infanticide, however, is not confined to Hindostan: it is practised among the modern Chinese, and a reference to Bryant's Analysis of Ancient Mythology will show how extensively human sacrifice prevailed

among the ancient Greeks and Romans at a time when they were looked upon as the most civilized people upon earth. It was a well-known decree of the Spartan lawgiver, Lycurgus, whose code was considered merciful compared with the bloody institutes of Draco, that all children born with any deformity should be destroyed. Even the Jews, in the early period of their history, forced their children to pass through the fire of Moloch, thus presenting a most horrible sacrifice to the brazen god of the Ammonites. When children were offered to this sanguinary deity, his statue was heated red-hot, and the wretched victims were placed within its gigantic arms, where they were almost instantly consumed.

“Such,” says Bryant, “was the Kronos of the Greeks and the Moloch of the Phœnicians, and nothing can appear more shocking than the sacrifices of the Tyrians and Carthaginians which they performed to this idol; in all emergencies of state, and times of general calamity, they devoted what was most necessary and valuable to them for an offering to the gods, and particularly to Moloch. But, besides these undetermined times of bloodshed, they had particular and prescribed seasons every year, when children were chosen out of the noble and reputable families, as has been before mentioned. If a person had an infant child it was the more liable to be put to death, as being more acceptable to the deity and more efficacious to the general good. Those who were sacrificed to Kronos were thrown into the arms of a brazen idol which stood in the midst of a large fire and was red with heat; the arms of it were stretched out and the

hands turned upward, as it were, to receive them, yet sloping downwards, so that they dropped from thence into a glowing furnace. To other gods they were otherwise slaughtered, and, as it is implied, by the very hands of their parents. What can be more horrid to the imagination than to suppose a father leading the dearest of his sons to such an infernal shrine? or a mother the most engaging and affectionate of her daughters, just rising to maturity, to be slaughtered at the altar of Ashtaroth and Baal? Such was their blind zeal, that this was continually practised, and so much of natural affection still left unextinguished as to render the scene ten times more shocking from the tenderness which they seemed to express. They embraced their children with great fondness, encouraged them in the gentlest terms, that they might not be appalled at the sight of the hellish process, and exhorted them to submit with cheerfulness to this fearful operation; if there was any appearance of a tear rising or a cry unawares escaping, the mother smothered it with kisses, that there might not be any show of backwardness or constraint, but the whole be a freewill offering. These cruel endearments over, they stabbed them to the heart, or otherwise opened the sluices of life, and with the blood, warm as it ran, besmeared the altar and the grim visage of their idol. These were the customs which the Israelites learned from the people of Canaan, and for which they were upbraided by the psalmist: ‘They did not destroy the nations concerning whom the Lord commanded them, but were mingled among the heathen and learned their works. Yea, they sacrificed their sons

and their daughters unto devils and shed innocent blood, even the blood of their sons and of their daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the idols of Canaan, and the land was polluted with blood.'"

Infanticide is to this day practised among some of the ruder tribes of America, in New South Wales and in the South-sea islands, and wherever this practice prevails, female children are the general victims; yet it must be confessed that among the more savage races who destroy their children it commonly arises from a better principle than that which actuates the more civilized. The former almost invariably resort to this barbarous custom from a feeling of humanity, in order to remove their female offspring from the miseries of a destitute existence; for among all savage or semi-barbarous communities the women are so emphatically the drudges of the men, that their lives are an absolute burden to them. Even in their adolescent years, when free from the slavery to which in their puberty they are hopelessly condemned, they have still only the sad prospect of wretchedness before them; and, so fully alive are mothers to the barrenness of their children's joys, that they have been frequently known to destroy them in order to secure them from the hardships which they themselves undergo. But they never destroy their male offspring, knowing that these inherit the chances of a far more endurable condition. The Hindoo, however, has a much less rational excuse, as he puts his daughter to death merely to evade the penalties of an imaginary degradation.

It is said that among the Rajpoots the child was

always destroyed as soon as it was born either by the mother or the nurse ; sometimes by opium, sometimes by stratagem ; but it appears that since the practice has fallen into desuetude, through the humane endeavours of Mr. Duncan and of those active functionaries who so shortly after followed his meritorious example, thousands of mothers have rejoiced, with a glowing gratitude, to see their daughters growing up around them in the native loveliness of innocence and youth. I can well imagine the anxious mother now looking on her blooming offspring with all the rapture of an affection enhanced by the remembrance of that horrid law of custom which would once have deprived her of so interesting a pledge of conjugal love, and exclaiming in the words of one of her own native poets—

*" Lost in the silvery beam so soft and fair,
No eye can trace her as she moves along ;
The winds which fan her, heavenly fragrance bear,
And trace her footsteps in the virgin throng."**

I believe a case of infanticide is now seldom or never heard of, though within the last half century many thousand victims were yearly sacrificed to an arrogant and inhuman prejudice. It is scarcely possible to conceive the indifference with which mothers are said by those who have described the fact, to have put their new-born babes to death—and mothers too who, on other occasions, when their maternal feelings were aroused, have exhibited the most tender

* Broughton's translations from the Popular Poetry of the Hindoos.

and she was commanded by her mother to direct her affianced husband to the fatal mess. The girl horror-struck at the idea of being made the instrument of destroying one whom she tenderly loved, directed him to another share that had been set apart for the father, who eat of the poisoned dish and perished. Thus the wife became a widow, and was obliged to undergo the penalty of all Brahmins' widows by expiating her crime upon the funeral pile, while the young couple married and were happy.

CHAPTER XVII.

RHOTAS GUR.—A SHEEP-EATER.

ON quitting Benares, which we did after a halt of a few days, we directed our steps to Rhotas Gur, one of the most romantic spots south of the Himalaya mountains. At a village, about eighteen miles from Benares, where we halted for the day, we were visited by a gaunt, grim-looking Hindoo, of some celebrity in the neighbourhood, which he had acquired, as well as the admiration of his caste, by his capability of devouring a sheep at a single meal. He was a tall, bony person, somewhat past the prime of life, with a thin, wiry frame, and a countenance of the most imperturbable equanimity, though as ugly as a sheep-eater might be expected to be. He was of the Sudra caste, and his companions seemed to entertain a high idea of his singular accomplishment as a most voracious eater. He offered, for a few rupees, to devour an entire sheep, if we would pay for the animal as well as for the different accessories of the meal. There was something so extraordinary in the proposal that we readily acquiesced. We accordingly prepared to witness this marvellous feat of manducation, by purchasing the largest sheep* we could find, which

* Sheep in India are generally very small and lean.

weighed, when prepared for cooking, just thirty-two pounds. We purchased it for one rupee, or about twenty-two pence.

All being now ready, the carnivorous Sudra commenced his extraordinary feast. Having cut off the sheep's head with a single stroke of his sabre and jointed the body in due form, he separated all the meat from the bones, the whole quantity to be devoured amounting to about twenty pounds. This meat he minced very fine, forming it into balls about the size of a small fowl's egg, first mixing with it plenty of spice and curry powder. As soon as the whole was prepared, he fried some of the balls over a fire, which he had previously kindled at the root of a tree, eating and frying till the whole were consumed. At intervals he washed down the meat with copious potations of ghee, which is sometimes so rancid as to be quite disgusting; and this happened to be the case now. After his prodigious meal, the performer was certainly far less active than he had previously been. His meagre body had acquired a considerable degree of rotundity, and although he declared that he felt not the slightest inconvenience, it was evident that he had taken as much as he could hold, and more than was agreeable. He acknowledged that he could not manage to eat a sheep at a meal more than twice in one week, and that this was oftener than he should like to do it.

Extraordinary as such an appetite may appear, it is very much less so than that act of carnivorous barbarity, mentioned by Colonel Mackenzie in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, where a

man is described as devouring a sheep alive, and a series of lithographic illustrations accompanies the description, representing, with a disgusting minuteness of detail, every part of the revolting process.

Although the most rigid Hindoos profess that in their sacred book, they are prohibited from destroying animal life, yet many even of those restrict this prohibition to tame, and especially to what we call domestic animals, assuming the privilege of killing such as are wild. Few of them, however, are so conscientiously punctilious as not to slaughter a sheep or a goat when oppressed by the calls of a sharp appetite, nor do they hesitate on such emergencies to quote some gloss on their sacred scriptures as an authority for the practice under circumstances of necessity. They find it no very difficult matter to make inclination and necessity co-ordinate in their code of moral obligation.

It is indeed certain that in the Institutes of Menu, which contain the whole formula of Hindoo duties, both civil and religious, the killing of animals is, with some limitations, allowed even to Brahmins; and I believe it is only those of the Jain and Buddhist sects who abstain from this practice altogether. The following is an extract to this purport from that celebrated formulary. "Beasts and birds of excellent sort may be slain by Brahmins for sacrifice, or for the sustenance of those whom they are bound to support." Thus it is clear that they are permitted to slay for sustenance as well as for sacrifice. It is a common error that Hindoos may not eat flesh or destroy life; but the prohibition is particular not

general. There are, nevertheless, an immense number of prohibited meats from which they abstain with scrupulous particularity.

So rigid are the Jains in observing the mere textual precept which prohibits killing, that they have established lazarettos for the security of vermin of all kinds, and even of noxious reptiles, to whose wants they attend with the most patient attention, and would rather suffer death themselves than press their finger even upon a musquito. It must be confessed that in general the members of this sect are remarkable for their mildness and humanity. Whatever may be the silly qualities of some of their superstitions, they are more than countervailed by traits of the noblest kind, which are by no means discovered to abound among the mass of the *Hindo* population.

On the third day after quitting Benares we crossed the bridge at Mow, near Bidzee Gur, and ascended the hill. On reaching the fort in which the rebel Cheit Singh had deposited his treasures in 1781, we found it in a state of great dilapidation. This memorable fortification is erected upon a table-land of some extent, considerably elevated above the level of the plain, and inaccessible on all sides but one, where the ascent is extremely tedious. The circumference of the summit, which is protected by a strongly fortified wall, is about two miles; the ground which it encloses is abundantly supplied with water and well cultivated. We were surprised, on observing the strength of the place and the difficulty of approach, that it should have so easily yielded to the assault

of the British troops in 1781 ; but fear and a bad cause seldom find security even behind walls and bulwarks.

On descending the hill, we proceeded to the Eckpouah ghaut,* through an agreeable wood that terminated within a mile of it. As the country opened before us, the prospect was very striking. Immediately below this pass there was a rich dell thickly wooded, and within its dark recesses the tiger and other savage beasts found an undisturbed sanctuary. A deep and rapid nullah foamed beneath, and the dash of its waters faintly caught the ear of the traveller above as they gurgled through the obstructed passages of the wood. On the right were bold precipitous rocks, the scarped summits of which seemed an invulnerable link between the present and remote time ; on the left were gently undulating hills, the distance terminating with the valley, through which the river Soane winds its placid course.

At the ghaut we found it difficult for our horses to descend, on account of a lofty rock, which was all but perpendicular and greatly embarrassed our progress. We searched for another path, but could find none : in spite, therefore, of the precipitous nature of the descent, we had no alternative but to attempt it, and fortunately, after much toil, succeeded in reaching the bottom without accident.

In this mountain-pass we caught a black monkey, and as these creatures are rare, we proposed sending it to England the first opportunity that might offer ; but unfortunately it escaped, through the negli-

* A ghaut is literally a pass in a mountain, though the word is often used for the mountain itself.

gence of the person to whose care it was intrusted, and who probably favoured its escape in order to get rid of a troublesome charge. Having continually remarked the foot-prints of tigers and other beasts of prey as we advanced, though tolerably well prepared against an irruption from such formidable enemies, we were not without our apprehensions; we, however, saw nothing to molest us, except four large bears, which we surprised in the bed of a dry nullah, and which were glad to escape from so formidable an array as our party presented.

At some short distance from the Eckpouah ghaut there is a huge, misshapen crag, rising full three hundred feet above the level of the plain. Its sides are so nearly perpendicular that there is no possibility of scaling it. This amorphous mass does not at all appear to belong to the spot, but seems as if it had been upheaved from the bosom of the earth by some primeval convulsion of nature. It bears the marks of very remote antiquity, and from its having so unnatural a location, the native geologists ascribe its position there to the period when, according to their cosmogony, the churning of the ocean took place, by which there was such a general dislocation of nature, that rocks were cast upon plains, and vast tracts of land, forming islands, flung into the sea.

In the neighbourhood of Sasseram, where we halted for a day, we found many fine subjects for the pencil, besides the tomb of Shere Shah, engraved in our first volume. The country round exhibits some noble specimens of oriental architecture, both Mahomedan and Hindoo. As we approached Rhotas Gur, the

hills presented a great variety of form, with occasionally a sternness and abruptness of aspect exceedingly attractive to the eye, though not very inviting to the footsteps of the traveller. Shere Shah by a stratagem obtained possession of the fort of Rhotas from the last of a long dynasty of Hindoo princes, Rajah Chintamum, whose family had held dominion over this part of the peninsula during a numerous succession of generations. This fort was considered impregnable until it was taken by Shere Shah, who made it a depository for his treasure and the chief residence of his family, until his death, when it probably reverted to its former possessor, as in the year 1575 it was captured from a Hindoo prince, after a severe struggle, by the Mogul emperor, Akbar.

On taking possession of the fort, in a large temple in the upper part of it, Shere Shah found a number of rude idols cut in marble, which he ordered to be flung over the neighbouring precipice, whence they have never been recovered; and for that act of sacrilegious tyranny his name is to this day execrated by all pious Hindoos in the neighbourhood.

The zemeendar of Akbarpoor, a village at the foot of the hill on which the fort of Rhotas stands, very obligingly sent us two or three men to guide us to the summit. We had not proceeded far on our way, which was tedious from the asperity and narrowness of the path, when our progress was interrupted by the gateway of a fortified pass, of which there are several between the base of the hill and the fort. These gateways are immensely strong, and from the steepness of the ascent oppose a formidable barrier to an approach-

ing enemy. It would, indeed, be a matter of no ordinary difficulty to bring artillery to play upon them, and they form a defence impregnable to any common mode of assault; they have, however, yielded to the skill and perseverance of a superior foe.

On reaching the first gateway, the chief guide stopped before the portal, and with a significant air of ceremony silently unwound his turban; then, putting one end of it into the hand of a companion, and placing himself at the other extremity, which he held, the two men stood on either side of the doorway, across which they drew the turban about three feet from the ground. Our obsequious guides then told us that it was customary for travellers to pay toll before entering the portal, as a propitiatory offering to Pollear, the protecting deity of pilgrims and travellers, who without such an oblation might bring us into mischief. Their logic was conclusive; therefore, upon the strength of an appeal so irresistible, we deposited the customary tribute in the outstretched palm of the petitioner, and passed under the gateway into the gorge of the mountain. We entered several similar portals before we reached the summit, which gave us an exalted idea of the former possessors of this strong-hold, who had displayed great sagacity and skill in fortifying a place so well adapted by nature for the purpose of affording an almost perfect security against invasion. At length we entered the fort, which is gained by a flight of winding steps through a gateway, flanked on either hand by a wall of vast thickness that abuts each side upon a precipice. This wall is built of large masses of a most durable stone so

strongly cemented together, that there is not the slightest appearance of decay. The masonry is entirely without ornament, but is still very imposing from its stern simplicity and massive strength: it is a fine specimen of ancient military architecture.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE FORT OF RHOTAS.—A HINDOO FUNERAL.

THE fort of Rhotas, like Bidzee Gur, stands upon the summit of a table hill, but is much more extensive, embracing a circumference of many miles, within which are several villages, and a moderately numerous population. It is everywhere protected by a lofty wall of immense thickness, except where the precipice presents a natural barrier to an invading army. Wherever the mountain upon which the fort stands, originally appeared in the slightest degree accessible, the wall towers above it with an union of massiveness and strength that seems to bid defiance to every human assault. It however yielded, as I have already stated, to the irresistible valour of the Afghan Shere Shah, who conquered the son of the renowned Baber, and father* of the still more renowned Akbar. Shere Shah had the enviable merit of taking, with inconsiderable loss, one of the strongest fortresses in Hindostan.

Beyond the gateway which leads immediately to the principal fortification, are several plain but handsome structures. There are temples, palaces, granaries, besides villages and single houses. The ba-

* Humayun.

zaars are furnished with everything necessary to supply the domestic wants of the people, of whom many never descended to the plains. The walls and the precipices by which they were surrounded being the boundary of their little world, they lived in a sort of Utopian simplicity, circumscribed within the narrow limits of a few miles, beyond which they did not seem to have the slightest desire to emerge. To such primitive minds the happy valley would have been a paradise, though to Rasselas it was a prison. In truth, happiness is not a fugitive that is to be pursued with breathless impatience through a world of perplexity and care. It is as secure to the indolent cenobite as to the busy wanderer; neither may obtain it, and it may visit the hermitage while it shuns the house of concourse. They generally know it best who seek it least; and certain it is that the little community of this romantic hill, if they were not positively happy, appeared contented, and content is so nearly allied to happiness, that they form rather a distinction than a difference.

The prospect around Rhotas Gur, viewed from the highest point about a mile south of the gateway, is of a truly sublime character; scarcely anything can surpass it, except it be the wild and stupendous scenery of the Himalaya mountains. Here are precipices several hundred feet deep, which it makes the brain whirl to look down, and they are so near the perpendicular, without a shrub to break the uniformity of their sheer rocky sides, that, until within a short distance from their termination, there is scarcely

footing for any animal beyond the size of a lizard. Some of them are clothed with wood nearly to the summit; others are bare almost to their base. Towards the bottom, the sides of the mountain are covered with trees of considerable bulk, and these are so infested with monkeys as entirely to banish silence from her primitive dominion. Their incessant gabbling, for clamour and continuance, can only be compared to a disturbed rookery.

In the old palace which we occupied, we were happily beyond the reach of these serenaders, but they never failed to hail our appearance upon the battlements above with peals of their boisterous merriment. We several times amused ourselves with rolling large stones over the precipice, in order to terrify them into silence; but it had quite the contrary effect: for these ponderous projectiles bounded downward with the most fearful impetuosity, crashing amid the trees, and causing such consternation among the monkeys, that their chattering was changed into loud screams of terror. We saw them bounding from branch to branch in such multitudes, that the whole forest seemed alive. We were notwithstanding wanton enough to continue our perilous pastime for a while at the imminent hazard of some of their lives. They, however, adroitly avoided the impending destruction, and were certainly more alarmed than injured; nevertheless, had they been able to expostulate in words, they would, I imagine, have cried out with the frogs in the fable, "this may be sport to you, but it is death to us."

From the elevation of the hill whence we were

amusing ourselves, the country below to the east and south was visible for many miles, and nothing could exceed the beauty of the prospect. The distant plains lay extended before the eye, bounded by the bright blue horizon, glowing under the vivid beams of an ardent sun, and exhibiting all the varying hues of an abundant cultivation. There were several towns and villages scattered over the extensive scene, and to a superficial observer, everything bespoke a happy and thriving population. But these appearances in India are too often fallacious: for while the country round you seems to promise a plentiful harvest to the husbandman, the ryot, or farmer of the soil, having, from the urgency of immediate want, been obliged to mortgage the produce to the more wealthy Zemeendar, has nothing to look forward to in the promising abundance around him but the pittance to be derived from his own labour in aiding to get in the future harvest; thus gathering, in anguish of heart and prostration of spirit, the scanty and bitter fruits of a poorly rewarded industry. In India, the social condition of the husbandman is one of extreme privation and pitiable endurance. The taxes upon the produce are very heavy, and being moreover levied before there is a return upon the sale of the crop, the farmer is almost invariably reduced to the hard necessity of selling it as it stands to the Zemeendar, who generally contrives to grind him down to a hard bargain, and he has no choice left between acceptance or starvation. Thus he sells the labour of months for little or no profit, all but giving it away, in order to meet the demands of a prince under whose government he

lives, and the rapacity of the Zemeendar through whose covetousness he starves. This state of domestic misery among the tillers of the land in the most productive country upon earth, is the reason why so few improvements have been here made in husbandry, and why there is so much valuable land unappropriated. There is no stimulus given to exertion, no encouragement to industry, no motive for improvement. The Zemeendar who takes advantage of the immediate necessities of the husbandman, is at no expense for tillage, for he buys the crops upon those terms which distress ever offers to a ready purchaser; so that there really exists no motive to till beyond what the mere hope of obtaining the absolute necessities of life supplies. For these reasons agriculture is in a very imperfect state, and likely to continue so until there is some encouragement given to predial industry. The agriculturists in India are precisely in the same state they were centuries ago, nor can there be any substantial improvement until there is a change in the social system—until, in short, the condition of those who raise the crops is ameliorated and brought nearer to that of those who enjoy the fruits of the harvest. So prolific is the soil in this genial climate, that it requires very little labour to render it productive; yet more than half the country is a wilderness. Thorns and briars usurp the supremacy of pulse and grain. The prickly pear scatters its rough tenacious arms over vast tracts of territory, where with little toil a plentiful harvest might be gathered in. There is no doubt that under an improved condition of things, millions of acres, which now lie waste,

and over which the "golden ear" has never waved, might be made to teem with fruitfulness, and to bless the toil of a miserable and frequently starving population. Famine would never then spread the blight of her horrible devastation over populous and extensive districts, strewing the earth with gastly corpses, and not leaving sufficient of the living to perform the last offices of humanity to the dead. Thousands of carcasses, in every frightful stage of decay, would not then lie uninhumed, scattering pestilence over the land which famine had first filled with lamentation, and loading every passing breeze with the elements of a most summary destruction. These are not circumstances of unusual occurrence: I was myself twice a witness of such scenes during the period of my residence in the East. They were in truth fearfully sad. I have seen the roads strewed with the dead and the dying. I could make these pages the vehicle of the most appalling descriptions, but I forbear. To persons who have resided long in India, those scenes are too familiar. Alas! that such calamities should arise from defective legislation, for this is the great secondary cause of the evil.

During our stay within the fort of Rhotas Gur, a funeral took place in a village at some short distance from our temporary residence, which we availed ourselves of the opportunity of witnessing; and, as we took care not to mix with the procession, there was no objection expressed on the part of the relatives of the deceased to our being present. The body, as is usual on these occasions, was laid upon a charpoy and covered with a crimson palampore, over which was strewed

a profusion of red flowers. The procession was tolerably numerous, consisting of the friends and relatives of the deceased, the latter of whom appeared as chief mourners, filling the air with their discordant lamentations. Nearly the whole village joined the mournful cavalcade, in order to pay their last tribute of respect to the remains of a departed brother. Those persons who immediately followed the bier made a dismal wailing, which was every now and then broken by a sort of shrill chorus in praise of the virtues of the dead. This kind of funeral elegy is always chanted on these solemn occasions, and is considered to form a very essential part of Hindoo obsequies, whether the body be disposed of by cremation or sepulture. The dissonance of their loud and elaborate wailings, mixed with the din of tomtoms, horns, and trumpets, defies description.

When the corpse was brought to the spot destined for its consumption, two parallel trenches were dug a few inches deep and about four feet apart; these were crossed by a trench at either end, the whole space forming a parallelogram about six feet long by four wide, each angle being opposite to one of the four cardinal points. The charpoy was then placed upon the ground and the body uncovered. It was in a very advanced state of decomposition, although death had only taken place late the preceding night. Upon the forehead a mark of caste had been distinctly traced, and the mouth was crammed with betel-nut. The flowers were now taken from the coverlet and strewed over the body, to weaken the fetid exhalations which arose powerfully from it and must have been intolerable to

those who were in its immediate vicinity; still they did not seem to be inconvenienced, but calmly proceeded with the solemn ceremonial. Within the square which had been formed, certain mystic rites took place to propitiate the spirits supposed to preside over sepulchres and to have an influence upon the happiness or misery of departed souls. When these were completed, the body was borne towards the pile, which had been carefully erected on a spot previously consecrated for the occasion by the officiating Brahmin. It consisted of large branches of the mango-tree, well besmeared with ghee, rising about two feet and a half from the ground. It was squared with great exactness and regularity, forming a compact body, and the wood was so skilfully disposed that few or no interstices were apparent.

The corpse was now laid upon the pile by four pariahs, who alone touch dead bodies in India; for the contact with a corpse is held by all other castes to be a pollution from which no one can be purified but by undergoing the severest mortifications. It is on such occasions only that the poor pariah is tolerated, and this because his services are indispensable; though even then no rigid Hindoo will approach him so near as to run the risk of coming even within the reach of his shadow. The principal mourner, who I understood was father of the deceased, as soon as the pariahs had retired, approached with a lighted torch in his right hand and a vessel of water on his left shoulder. On reaching the sacred platform on which were deposited the remains of an only son, he turned his back towards it, applied the torch to the com-

bustibles underneath, his eyes the while directed towards heaven, dropped the vessel of water on the ground as soon as he heard the crackling of the flames, then darted off as if he had been pursued by some malignant spirit. The fire kindled with great rapidity; in a few moments the body was enveloped in flames which burned so ardently that it was shortly consumed. The pyre had been previously strewed with unguents and other inflammable substances, in order to accelerate this solemn conclusion of the funeral ceremony. Letting fall the water-vessel is an ancient superstitious test never, I believe, omitted on these melancholy occasions. The idea of this credulous people is, that if it does not break in falling, another of the family will die before the year expires; but that if it breaks—and this seldom fails to happen, from the violence with which they let it fall—the family is secure from such a calamity.

The moment the torch is applied to the pile, the party upon whom it devolves to perform this part of the ceremony rushes from the spot to the nearest tank, into which he instantly plunges, in order as soon as possible to purify himself from the contamination which he is supposed to have imbibed from so near a contact with a corpse. With somewhat less celerity, but following close upon his steps, the rest of the mourners on this occasion repaired to the same tank, where they also underwent the customary purifications. The body being consumed, the ashes were carefully collected and deposited in a large earthen jar, there to remain until an opportunity should offer of casting them upon the sacred waters of the Ganges.

which, according to the Hindoo creed, having their source in heaven, will waft them thither,* when those senseless atoms shall be reunited to the disembodied spirit and enjoy with it an immortality of uninterrupted beatitude.

Upon these solemn occasions the ministering Brahmin exacts a considerable fee. From a family in but moderate circumstances he would think a hundred rupees no more than a reasonable demand; and whatever he does demand is paid without a murmur on the supposition that so sacred a person cannot be guilty of extortion. Funerals therefore, where the parties can afford to pay, are always attended with great expense. There was no suttee in this instance, although the deceased left a young widow; that barbarous custom having been almost abolished in this part of the country.

Sonnerat mentions that in some places the widow, instead of burning herself on the husband's funeral-pile, buries herself alive, in order to be immediately united to him in paradise. "When they are buried alive," says this observing traveller, "the same ceremonies are observed before they are conducted to the place of interment as when they burn themselves. . So soon as the person who is the object of the sacrifice has arrived, she descends into a place of the form of a small cellar, and takes the body of her husband in her arms. The ditch is immediately filled with earth up to the woman's neck; a carpet is laid before her to

* The Hindoos imagine that as the Ganges has its source in heaven, its waters finally return thither, after purifying the souls of men upon earth.

prevent the horrors of death from being perceived, and that the sight may not frighten other women, they give her something in a shell, which is doubtless poison, and the ceremony concludes by twisting her neck, which they do with surprising dexterity."

On the day which followed the funeral we were out with our guns, when one of the party shot a large vulture that had perched upon the carcase of a dead sheep, and was certainly doing the neighbourhood a benefit by removing the nuisance. As soon as the bird was shot, it fell and turned upon its back; but, struggling a good deal, two of the attendants, of which each person of our party had one, were ordered to despatch it with bamboos. This was accordingly done, and, after receiving several severe blows upon the head, it appeared to be quite dead; one of the men then took it upon his shoulder, and we pursued our sport. We were out several hours, the vulture hanging all the while from the shoulder of the man apparently lifeless, its eyes closed and its head much lacerated by the shot and the strokes from the bamboos. Upon our return, the man who carried the vulture, glad to get rid of his burden, (for these birds will sometimes weigh as much as thirty pounds) flung it upon the ground with a force of itself sufficient to kill it; but to our surprise it seemed to be reanimated by the shock; for after opening its eyes, it suddenly turned, and was on its legs in a moment. Advancing a step or two, it stretched out its wings, rose heavily into the air, continuing to rise until it was entirely lost to our view in the distance. We were all so much astonished at thus so unex-

pectedly beholding the dead alive, that no one thought of making an attempt to prevent its escape. The tenaciousness of life which the vulture possesses, as this anecdote will show, is almost incredible; and so great is its rapacity, that when engaged in devouring its prey, it will allow a person to approach and seize it, though this is at all times a dangerous experiment.

CHAPTER XIX.

HINDOO TEMPLE AT MUDDENPOOR.

QUITTING Rhotas Gur, on our way to Patna, we halted at Gyah, where there are several majestic ruins. At Muddenpoor, a village in the neighbourhood of Gyah, we visited a Hindoo temple, formerly in high repute, though now in a state of dilapidation. There are several small trees growing out of the tower, which rises to a great height above the body of the building, and has four elliptical sides with convex surfaces. It is divided into two stories, and surmounted by a small fluted dome, which makes a graceful termination. The main edifice is square, and adorned with two handsome porticos, one at the eastern, the other at the western extremity. The common entrance is on the south side, through a narrow doorway, over which are some rude carvings. On the foreground, about twenty yards from the south-western angle of the building, is an elegant but massy stone column from fifteen to twenty feet high:—for what purpose it was erected does not now appear to be known. It is hexagonal for the first four feet from the base, when the squares increase in number; but towards the top the pillar is perfectly round, and surmounted by a plain square capital.

This temple, which is built without cement, is supposed to be of extreme antiquity, and its appearance fully justifies the supposition. It stands upon an eminence at some distance from the public road, commanding an extensive and beautiful view of the surrounding country. The hill, though not lofty, is troublesome to ascend; for in consequence of the immense number of persons who still visit this sacred shrine, either from curiosity or devotion, the surface of the rock through which the road is cut is so worn as to render it quite slippery, and to persons unaccustomed to such a ticklish ascent, it is altogether impracticable without assistance from those whom habit has enabled to surmount the difficulty. Nevertheless, when the summit is gained, the traveller's toil is abundantly repaid by the splendid prospect before him, which however is so common in India that it soon ceases to be a novelty, though it cannot cease to give delight. The view from this spot is scarcely inferior to that seen from the summit of Rhotas Gur.

The Brahmins who attend the temple are esteemed very holy persons, and the sanctuary, though in a state of dilapidation, is resorted to by pilgrims from a great distance. It is dedicated to Vishnoo, and is frequently the scene of the most absurd superstitions; yet in spite of the foolish rites to which long established custom has imparted the authority and obligation of law, some of the doctrines taught in these heathen tabernacles are such as would not disgrace a Christian preacher. They inculcate a highly pure morality, and wherever this is infringed, under the sanctions of interested teachers, it is a viola-

tion of the pure Hindoo creed, which, when divested of its corruptions and false glosses, is by no means so free from "spiritual discernment," as is generally supposed. Although, perhaps, there is no country in the world where religion has been exposed to so many gross and monstrous corruptions, there may nevertheless be found beautiful lessons of wisdom and practical virtue even in those Brahminical writings which are accessible to Europeans; while the esoteric precepts of such among their sacred books, as are sealed to all but the privileged few, are said by learned Christians, who have been made acquainted with their mysteries, to contain doctrines so pure and wise, as to be second only to the oracles of inspiration.

He could have been no ordinary teacher who wrote the following. "Let the motive be in the deed and not in the event. Be not one whose motive for action is the hope of reward. Let not thy life be spent in inaction. Depend upon application, perform thy duty, abandon all thought of the consequence, and make the event equal, whether it terminate in good or evil, for such an equality is called *yog*.* Seek an asylum then in wisdom alone; for the miserable and unhappy are so on account of the event of things. Men who are endued with true wisdom are unmindful of good or evil in this world. Study then to obtain this application of thy understanding, for such application in business is a precious art."† Again, "There is no-

* A Sanscreeet word, which, says Sir Charles Wilkins, we have none in our language to express. It is nearly synonymous with devotion.

† Bhagvat Geeta, Lecture II.

thing in this world to be compared with wisdom for purity. He who is perfected by practice, in due time findeth it in his own soul. He who hath faith findeth wisdom, and, above all, he who hath gotten the better of his passions; and having obtained this spiritual wisdom, he shortly enjoyeth superior happiness; whilst the ignorant and the man without faith, whose spirit is full of doubt, is lost. Neither this world nor that which is above, nor happiness, can be enjoyed by a man of a doubting mind. The human actions have no power to confine the spiritual mind, which by study hath forsaken works, and which by wisdom hath cut asunder the bonds of doubt." *

We should form altogether a very unjust estimate of the intellectual qualifications of Hindoo teachers, if we tested them by those vulgar superstitions which are constantly presented to the traveller's eye in their numerous temples. These are frequently nothing more than the juggles of an interested priesthood, from which, indeed, the religion of Christian countries is not entirely free. The besotted notions so commonly instilled into the mind of the ignorant Hindoo are as far removed from the spirit of his ritual, as the mummeries sanctioned by the Roman Catholic priesthood are from the purity of those doctrines promulgated by the chosen ministers of the Christian Law-giver. Wherever religion is taught to be a mystery too subtle for the penetration of common minds, and thus kept from the mental scrutiny of the vulgar;—where it is left to be expounded by a few interested teachers, who derive more temporal profit from prac-

* Bhagvat Geeta, Lecture IV.

tising on the credulity of their hearers, than in opening their eyes to the truth—it will naturally be corrupted; and nothing is too monstrous for ignorant credulity to receive.* Ignorance being naturally attached to the marvellous is consequently inclined to superstition, and thus, in order to satisfy this morbidly spiritual appetite, the attributes of the Deity have been personified, and a host of idols offered to human adoration, under the assumed sanction of a sacred name. The Divinity is so constantly associated with human actions and human infirmities, as to represent an Almighty monster of iniquity, possessing the repugnant qualities of Omnipotence both in good and in evil.

Such views of him are, alas! but too grateful to the feelings of corrupt minds; for we may easily imagine it is no difficult matter for men inherently depraved to persuade themselves that a God, who can be the great exemplar of vicious acts, will not be backward to pardon in others what his own conduct justifies; and therefore this assumed sanction of vice in the Creator cannot fail to render it more palatable to the heart of the creature. The implicit reliance which the ignorant among the Hindoos place upon their priests, who are often as corrupt as they are illiterate, is the chief cause of that barbarous idolatry in which they are still involved, and which has hitherto bid defiance to the most zealous endeavours of our missionaries.

* It is a general belief among the Hindoo vulgar, that no one has a chance of happiness in the next life, if he neglect to give alms to the Brahmins.

Monstrous as the complicated mythology of Hindostan may appear to those who cannot discover the spiritual inference through the mythic adaptation, the Brahminical religion, when divested of its exaggerated fables and allegories, amounts simply to this: that God is eternal, omnipotent, and infinitely wise; the source of all good, and the consummation of all perfection. As he had no beginning, so neither can he have an end, since that to have an end, which has no beginning, would at once involve a contradiction and an impossibility. He is without body, parts, or passions; permeating all space; the antithesis of evil, which he will eventually overcome; an omnipotent, just, and merciful God. He is the creator of all things, the sustainer of all things, and nothing is hid from his scrutiny. Past and future are to him everlastingly present, and his ubiquity enables him to comprehend all things within himself. As he is infinitely merciful, so is he infinitely just, and therefore eternally punishes the wicked as well as everlastingly rewards the good.

The Brahmins further believe that at the time fixed in his eternal decrees, God will destroy this world by fire. They place implicit faith in the influence of inferior divinities, which are subservient to the one Almighty, who wills nevertheless that divine homage, though different from that which is offered to himself, should be paid to them as his accredited vicegerents to whom he has appointed especial functions upon earth. These agents are extremely numerous, and it is in consequence of the homage paid to them that so many corruptions have crept in to

destroy the purity of the primitive worship. The doctrine of the metempsychosis is one to which I believe the different Hindoo sects unanimously subscribe. They hold that immediately after death the soul is wafted into the presence of its eternal judge, who passes sentence upon it, condemning it to everlasting happiness or misery according to its spiritual purity or pollution upon earth. If it be condemned to suffer, after an expiation of ages it returns to the world it has quitted and assumes a bestial incarnation. During a succession of lives it takes possession of the bodies of several beasts of progressively higher grades, and thus gradually advances in the scale of animal improvement. When the process of personal atonement has been so far completed, it passes into the frame of a man, still migrating from one human body to another more holy and increasing in spiritual purity until the crimes committed in a former state of existence have been sufficiently expiated, when it is released from its hard bondage of probation, received into the celestial paradise and absorbed into the Deity.

Before we left Gyah we went into the woods with our guns in search of game, a pastime so common in India, that the traveller scarcely passes a day on his journey without enjoying it. On the present occasion a large hog was shot, but did not yield without making a fierce resistance; not until it had received fourteen balls in its body from different guns, did it finally relinquish the hard struggle for life. We left the carcass close by the edge of a jungle, intending on our return to deprive it of its head, and bear this to our tents as a trophy. We continued our sport

but shot nothing except a few black partridges and a couple of hares, the latter of which in this country are generally hard and coarse. Upon our return to the spot where we had left the hog, which had not been killed above two hours, we were astonished to find that not an atom of flesh remained on its bones. During our absence the vultures had descended upon the carcase and completely devoured it, though in the most extraordinary manner. When we approached it appeared to be perfectly entire, but upon closer inspection we found the skin to be filled with only bones and air. The hide of the animal was so tough, that the vultures could make no impression upon it; they had therefore insinuated their beaks through the holes made by the balls in the boar's body, gradually enlarging the orifice until they obtained admission for their heads, when with their usual voracity they tore from the bones and skin every morsel of flesh, and shortly swallowed the whole. The entrails were also consumed, so that there remained little more of the dead hog than an inflated skin, which two of our attendants bore away, no doubt gratified at the vultures' ingenuity, since it had greatly diminished their burthen.

The vulture is said to have a keenness of scent so extraordinary as to be sensible of the effluvium of putrid flesh at the distance of more than a mile. Certain it is, that if an animal of any bulk is destroyed and left on the ground, though there should be no vulture in sight at the moment of its destruction, within the space of half an hour it will be covered with these hungry spoilers, which never quit it while

a morsel of the carcass remains. When they scent a piece of carrion they immediately congregate in large bodies, make several gyrations in the air over the spot, and then descend upon their prey. They may frequently be seen soaring on the watch at an immense height in the air, and a dead body never escapes either the quickness of their sight or the keenness of their scent. These birds are so voracious, that they have frequently been known to attack distempered cattle and destroy them. If a buffalo happens to have a sore, they will perch upon its back and begin to feed upon it, and, notwithstanding its strength and fierceness, they will continue the assault, one perching on the animal's head and flapping its wings over its eyes, while others fix upon the diseased part, until, worn out with fatigue and suffering, it becomes at length an easy prey to these indefatigable destroyers. The vulture is generally about the size of a large turkey, though some have been known to weigh upwards of thirty pounds. It is very serviceable in hot climates in removing putrid substances, which would else expose the country to the continual visitation of pestilence: in fact, but for these disgusting birds, every region within the tropics would soon be depopulated;—they annually save thousands of human lives.

CHAPTER XX.

BODE GYAH.—BUDDHIST TEMPLE.—BUDDHISM.

FROM Gyah we proceeded a few miles out of our direct route to Bode Gyah, where there is one of the most celebrated Buddhist temples to be found in Hindostan; it is still an imposing structure, though the ravages of time are visible in several parts of it. The body of the building is a massy square, in the neighbourhood of which are alto-reliefs finely chiselled; they are masterpieces of ancient oriental art. The anatomical proportions are such as show that those masters by whom they were executed had studied the human figure with no common attention. These sculptures have all the reality of life in the attitude and action which they represent, having more grace than the Egyptian, and more action than the Greek, nor are they much inferior to the latter in beauty of proportion and vigour of outline. The tower of this temple rises from the body of the structure, covering the entire square, and gradually diminishing in its elevation until it terminates in a tall columnar top with a round projecting base. On the walls are rich masses of bass-relief, carved with consummate taste and skill. The entrance is through a dilapidated portico, to which you ascend by a broken flight of steps.

On either side is an unseemly mound of earth which has been suffered to accumulate, somewhat diminishing to the eye the beautiful proportions of the building.

The architectural features of this temple are so unlike anything else in the country round it, that an appearance of great antiquity is thus imparted to it, and the conjecture fairly justified that all the other edifices in the neighbourhood are of a much more modern date, although the pagoda at Muddenpoor, near Gyah, has the reputation of being extremely ancient. Colonel Todd, indeed, asserts that in India there are no fine specimens of sculpture, for which the neighbourhood of Bode Gyah is at present pre-eminently distinguished, before the tenth century; but upon what data he grounds his assertion is somewhat problematical. His arguments are to me by no means conclusive, and before he can establish this new theory, he must advance something more tangible than the hypothesis of even a very enterprising traveller, an eloquent writer, an acute reasoner, and an amiable man. He is each and all; I have read his volumes with admiration and respect, and feel deeply his debtor for the information they have afforded me. With regard, however, to his hypothesis, it is to my mind sufficiently negatived by the fact that fine sculpture is now seen on those temples to which the highest authorities ascribe an existence long anterior to the tenth century.

The temple at Bode Gyah is entirely deserted; years have rolled away since the knee of the worshipper has bent before its altars. The priest is no longer there to receive and console the pilgrim; no devotees throng its aisles—no offerings are made at

its shrines. It has become a scene of gloomy desolation, a forsaken sanctuary, a shelter for the fox-bat and the serpent. At a short distance to the left of the building there is a remarkable stone, upwards of six feet in diameter, representing the chackra of Vishnoo, most exquisitely carved in fine bas-relief; indeed, so great is the knowledge of art displayed in these carvings and the adaptation of that knowledge to the subjects they exhibit, that it would be difficult to find a specimen of modern sculpture of a similar character that could surpass them. The chackra represented by this stone is a missile with which the forefinger of Vishnoo's main right-hand, for he has four hands, is armed. It is a sort of discus or quoit, the periphery terminating in a keen edge; and this, when hurled from the finger of the deity, carried death and desolation before it.

There are few inhabitants in the neighbourhood of this magnificent structure, which, in spite of neglect, desertion, and the dilapidations of ages, seems formed, like the pyramids, to endure until it shall be finally toppled down amid

“ The wreck of matter and the crush of worlds.”

About a mile from Bode Gyal there is an immense pile of building which forms one solid mass of cemented brick, but for what purpose it was erected no one can now surmise. As a contrast to the ancient Hindoo architecture exhibited in this temple, the reader is referred to a grand mosque in the Coimbatore district, built by Hyder Ally, and perhaps the finest specimen of modern Mahomedan architecture in India.

The one has not been erected above sixty years, the other has perhaps existed nearly half as many centuries. Nothing can be more perfectly opposite than the two styles, and yet both are perfect in their kind.

I shall devote the remainder of this chapter to a brief account of that remarkable sect which raised the splendid temple at Bode Gyah. The Brahminical religion by consecrating the hereditary principles of caste, by declaring there was no passage from one caste to another, by proclaiming that all men who were not of the Aryas, were Mlêchha, or barbarians, fixed limits to its own progress that could not be passed. When once it was established that crimes committed in a previous state of existence irrevocably determined the fate of men in the present life; that he who was born a Mlêchha must remain a Mlêchha, whatever were his virtues, and that he who was born an Arya should continue an Arya whatever were his vices, there could be no motive to conversion; the very attempts to make proselytes must have been regarded as criminal. Two results necessarily followed from such a system. The Aryas seized supremacy as a matter of right; the Mlêchhas were ready to receive with pleasure the first daring innovator that would denounce as unfounded the dogmas which sentenced them to hopeless degradation.

We must not imagine that the system of caste belonged exclusively to India: on the contrary, we have strong proof that it prevailed over the greater part of central and western Asia. In Persia, for instance, the Medes claimed to be Aryas, and under that pretext demanded submission from the Persians.

It is singular that certain history begins for almost every nation of the East, at the moment when the chains of caste were broken; and the sixth century before Christ, in which Cyrus commenced the great religious and political revolutions which Darius Hystaspes and Zoroaster consummated, is an important era not merely for Persia, but for India, for Ceylon, and the Indo-Chinese nations.

We know the fact of the introduction of a new religion into Persia and central Asia about this period; a religion more universal in its character than the Brahminical, which recognized no hereditary disqualifications, which either totally abolished or greatly modified the system of caste, and which, as a necessary consequence, elevated the character of saints and prophets, above that of the priestly tribe. Derived from a creed strictly exclusive, the new religion retained no trace of this characteristic of its parent, and yet preserved almost every other. It spread rapidly over Eastern Asia; but in India, the country of its native birth, it was met by the fierce hostility of those whose supremacy rested on the system of caste, and it fell in the encounter.

The new religion thus established in the countries round India received the name of Buddhism, from the word Buddha, which signifies a "holy person." It borrowed from Brahminism, its mythology, its philosophy, and a part of its rites and ceremonies; but it substituted for an hereditary priesthood, an organized hierarchy and monastic institutions.

In speaking of Buddhism, too much caution cannot be used; perhaps there is no subject on which so

much nonsense has been written by those who lay aside research for conjecture. There have even been found some who assert that it is a more recent religion than Brahminism, though the marks of its derivative character are stamped on every portion both of its faith and practice ; though its creed can be deduced from Brahminism by logical sequence. In the fifth section of Mr. Colebrook's Essay on the Philosophy of the Hindoos, it will be seen that in the Upanishads or terminating sections of the Vedas, an ascetic and contemplative life is recommended as the true means of salvation. Such a doctrine produced a race of anchorites possessing more influence over the vulgar than the Brahmins, just as with the Jews the schools of the prophets possessed more authority than the descendants of Aaron. A consequence of the recommendation of contemplative life, recognized indeed in the Vedas themselves, is that a greater authority will be attributed to the interior revelations of the conscience, than to the revelations in the Sacred books, of which the priests are the hereditary guardians ; and this principle followed out, is manifestly subversive of caste, because it elevates the anchorite of whatever tribe he may be, above the Brahmin. In fact, some of the present Hindoo schools of philosophy have not hesitated to go the entire length of preferring the revelations within the soul, discovered by profound meditation, to the Vedas or Scriptures.

The praise of asceticism, and especially the belief in the mysterious revelations made to the ascetic, necessarily led to the attribution of divine qualities to the sages who retired from the busy haunts of men, to

enjoy divine meditations in the wilderness. There needed only an individual of this class to appear, endowed with superior intelligence and favoured by circumstances, to collect admirers, followers, disciples ; to become the founder of a new religion, and perhaps the reformer of the political system. The Brahmins, relying on their prescriptive power, he would probably find at once arrogant and indolent ; he would discover the lower classes deprived of knowledge by their superiors, and at the same time he would see this ignorance made an excuse for withholding their civil rights. His first appeal would be made to the poor, and it would be eagerly welcomed by a host of partisans. Such a reformer was found in the person of the Buddha Sakia Muni, that is to say, the holy hermit Sakia. The dates of his appearance vary considerably, not only in the different Buddhist nations, but in the histories of each nation. Schmidt, in his *Mongolian History*, says that he found among the Tibetans thirteen different dates, of which the extremes are more than a thousand years asunder. The latest of these eras is the one adopted by the Singhalese, which places Sakia between the years B. c. 638 and 542.

In accordance with the merits attributed to a life of celibacy, the Buddhists believe that Sakia was born of a pure virgin, that he was a divine incarnation, and that on his appearance in the world, all the inferior deities paid him homage. His supposed father was king of Mogadha, in Southern India, and was so delighted with the beauty of the boy, that he declared him heir to his kingdom.

When Sakia grew up, he was deeply affected by the sight of human misery, and in spite of every remonstrance, resolved to lay aside the splendours of royalty and lead the life of a hermit. Several of the young nobles imitated his example and professed themselves his disciples. For many years, Sakia lived in the desert, absorbed in meditation, scarcely paying any attention to the common necessities of life, and evincing his humility by refusing the services and homage of his disciples. From hence he removed to a still more solitary place, where he was assailed by several temptations, over all of which he triumphed. Being now persuaded that he had subdued all human lusts, he prepared to publish a new system of faith; but before commencing the publication he underwent a series of fasts and penances for forty-nine days. His first sermon to his disciples on the origin and necessity of faith, may be regarded as a brief summary of the principal doctrines of Buddhism.

“The universal state of misery, that is, the present world, is the first truth; the path of salvation is the second truth; the temptation to which we are exposed is the third truth; and the mode of overcoming temptation is the fourth truth.” He then proceeds to explain the signification of these truths in the following terms. “In the course of human life no moment of pleasure equals that in which we acquire cognizance of the truth; thus I name this world, a true state of misery, and the practice of the precepts of faith the greatest happiness. Consider the fourfold condition of man; the pains attending his birth; the diseases

he has to encounter in the course of his life ; the miserable condition of his old age, and the calamity of death. As years increase, his skin becomes dry and wrinkled like an old parchment ; the flesh upon his bones withers and wastes away ; the blood in his veins flows sluggishly ; his body bends towards the ground ; his sight begins to fail, and even mountains are scarcely apparent to his weak eyes ; the sense of hearing is so lost that trumpets sound for him in vain ; the mouth loses its teeth ; and fragrance is wasted on his decayed sense of smelling. The diminution of his bodily strength compels him to have recourse to a staff for support, the faculties of the soul change into distraction and forgetfulness." He thus at great length enumerates all the possible evils to which man is subject, and concludes by declaring that belief in the Buddha is the sure path of salvation.

The path of salvation can scarcely be explained without entering very deeply into the mysteries of Indian metaphysics. All religions that do not profess to be founded on a special revelation, must of necessity be Pantheistic, because Pantheism is the natural result to which we are led by unassisted reason. But, few have been content to stop here : in most instances men look beyond the material and changeable world, for that which is immaterial and unchangeable. The Buddhists arrive at this notion by abstracting all the attributes that would imply limitation until nothing is left but the simple idea of existence. This remote abstraction, which has been well termed "the something-nothing," they regard as the supreme God. The world and its deceptive

appearances have only an illusive existence; they were produced by beings or agencies that emanated in the fourth degree from the Supreme Being or Sunya. Man attributes to these worldly appearances a reality which they do not possess, regards things as good which are truly evil, allows himself to be overcome by the vicissitudes of life, and recognizes not his original destination. He must, then, detach his soul from all the objects which excite passions or desires, he must devote himself to profound contemplation, to arrive at that intuitive science, that state of the soul in which it recognizes the nature of those fallacies, and thus acquires mastery over the world and its illusions. The soul thus divested of worldly passions and affections, becomes itself a Buddha. After death it passes into the state of nirwana, when it is wholly absorbed in the Sunya, and perfectly identified with the Deity.

This is the best account of Sakia's doctrine that can be deduced from the mysticism with which either he or his followers have veiled the system, a mysticism of which the reader may judge from the following specimen.

"Buddha says, my religion or law consists in thinking the unconceivable thought; my religion consists in going the unpassable way; my religion consists in speaking the ineffable word; my religion consists in practising the unpracticable practice."

Sakia spent his whole life in diffusing his doctrines, but as he seems never to have formally embodied his followers into a sect, he escaped persecution. When his eightieth year was passed, he assembled his principal disciples, and recommended them to form

themselves into a separate society after his death. He told them that such a measure would undoubtedly expose them to fierce persecution, and recommended them when the hour of distress and danger arrived, to seek a refuge in the mountains north of India. He advised them also to prepare images of his person, the sight of which would serve to fortify their faith. Statues were accordingly executed, representing the Buddha at different periods of his life. The most celebrated of these exhibits him sitting with his right hand on his knee, his left holding a string of beads, and his hair which had not been cut during his residence in the wilderness, clustered in curls over his brow.

Soon after this he obtained nirwana without suffering the pains of death. The Buddhists show the print of his foot on several mountains. He impressed it just before his ascent into heaven; and a representation of this foot-print is usually found in every Buddhist temple.

who had preached such vast reforms as the abolition of caste, at least so far as religion was concerned, of hereditary priesthood, and of bloody sacrifices, they were astounded at the vast amount of change proposed, and naturally ascribed it to superhuman intellect; they were thus tempted to interweave in Sakia's life the legends of Rama and Krishna, the more especially as when he quitted Brahminism he brought with him the greater part of its mythology, though he abolished all its practice.

The Buddhists were a powerful sect in India, when Alexander the Great appeared on its north-western frontier; but soon after that event, the Brahmins discovered that the progress of the new sect threatened the ruin of their power. It is not easy to ascertain when persecution began; but Professor Wilson is of opinion that the great effort for the suppression of Buddhism was made in the fifth and sixth centuries of our era. In northern India, the Buddhists seem to have made some stand, for the Brahmins never possessed so much influence there as in other parts of the Peninsula, and hence in that quarter, the remains of Buddhist temples are by no means infrequent.

Assailed by the Mahomedans on one side, and the Brahmins on the other, few, if any Buddhists, are now to be found in India. But probably the disappearance of this religion is not to be attributed to persecution only; the orthodox themselves, and especially the Vishnuvies, have made some approximations to the creed of their ancient adversaries, by making Buddha an incarnation of Vishnu, by per-

mitting men of every class to embrace a monastic life, and by abolishing in a great degree the use of bloody sacrifices. Hence it is probable that the remnant of the Buddhists may have been lost in the Jains and Vishnuvies.

It would be inconsistent with the limits of this work to enter into any consideration of the Buddhistic sects, or to describe the modifications which that religion has received from the character of the different nations in which it has been established; still less to pursue the difficult and important inquiry of the effects produced by Buddhism indirectly; but I may be permitted to remark that decisive traces of its influence are to be discovered in the Gnostic heresies that corrupted Christianity, and in the Sufeeism which threatens at no distant day to overthrow Mahomedanism.

CHAPTER XXI.

GOUR.—MUSQUITOES.—A WILD SOW SHOT.

FROM Bode Gyah we made the best of our way to Patna, where our budgerow was waiting for us, and thence dropped down the river to Rajemah'l. Here we crossed the Ganges, and proceeded in our palankeens to the ruins of Gour, once the capital of Bengal, and about thirty miles from Rajemah'l. The city of Gour was formerly of vast extent, as is evident from the ruins now remaining, which occupy a space of twenty square miles. Several villages stand upon its site; and what may be called the modern town, in which there are eight tolerably good bazaars, contains a population of somewhere about thirty thousand souls.

Nothing scarcely remains of the old city, except a few solemn ruins. One of the gateways is still a magnificent object; it is a noble piece of architecture and majestic even in decay. It originally formed one of the principal entrances into the town. The arch is upwards of fifty feet high, and the wall of immense thickness. The ravages of time are indeed fearfully visible upon it, but it nevertheless appears likely to stand for centuries. This neighbourhood swarms with vermin and reptiles of all kinds, and only two days before our arrival, a boa snake,

two-and-twenty feet long, had been killed close by the old gateway. The tanks were so filled with alligators, that it was dangerous to approach their banks. Some of these creatures, however, were so tame as to come at the call of a fakeer, and take rice from his hand.

We found the mosquitoes so intolerable, that it was scarcely possible to obtain any rest at night. In fact the whole vicinity has been so neglected, that it has become the resort of everything noxious and disagreeable. The ground is covered with the rankest vegetation, which is permitted to wither and rot upon the surface, so that the place is very unhealthy from the pestilential effluvia continually arising. Though this is an evil easily remedied, still the inhabitants permit it to remain with the greatest unconcern, preferring to be visited with the most frightful distempers, rather than take the trouble to remove the cause of them. The soil is so fertile that it would yield an immense harvest for the labour of cultivation; and yet it is left untilled except a few small patches which return a scanty crop to the niggard toil of several poor farmers, who seek from it a bare subsistence.

The morning after we reached Gour, we went out, as was our usual practice, with our guns, but the jungle was so rank and the swamps so dangerous that we were soon glad to return. On our way back a large wild sow was shot at by Mr. Daniell, and wounded in the hind leg. She was so much disabled that she could not make her escape; but the fierceness of her resistance, even though taken at such a dis-

advantage, was surprising. She turned upon the person who approached to despatch her, with a ferocious activity, her jaws covered with foam, and champing with the most savage aspect of fury. A second shot broke the other hind leg, and she was now quite unable either to advance or retreat; she nevertheless contrived to scramble into a ditch filled with tall jungle grass, which so entirely covered her that we lost sight of her for some time. As we could neither hear her moan nor see her stir, we began to imagine that she was dead and our hope of a griskin defeated. At length a small dog belonging to one of our party roused her from her painful repose, when she inflicted upon the poor little creature a wound so severe as ultimately to cause its death. The grass was now soon plucked up, and the wounded quarry exposed. Although she could offer no effectual resistance, she nevertheless made astonishing efforts to escape, dragging herself forward into the grass, and using incredible exertions to wound her assailants. She literally sprang at them on her two stumps, evincing an indomitable determination not to die unavenged; and it required great agility and caution, on the part of our attendants, to defeat her desperate purpose.

The men attacked her with thick bamboos, and having broken one of her forelegs she was soon despatched. It was now about noon, and, within five hours after, the flesh was in such a state of decomposition that it was impossible to dress it. The heat of the day had been extreme, and the severe bruises which the animal had received from the bamboos of our

merciless followers, had so accelerated the natural activity of putrefaction in so warm a climate, that we were obliged to consign her to the vultures, which gladly reaped the fruits of our labours and disappointment.

On the following day we returned to our budgerow, and proceeded leisurely down the Ganges. Not far below Rajemah'l we were overtaken by a severe squall, which had nearly driven us on shore. We did not escape without damage, as our budgerow struck against the bank, and received a severe shock, the water making its way so rapidly into her that we were obliged to keep two men constantly employed in baling her out. Our patilla, or baggage boat, was swamped, and went to the bottom with every thing we possessed in the world, except our papers and drawings, which we happened luckily to have on board the budgerow. The patilla was considerably astern of us when she went down, nor were we conscious of the accident until we had moored for the night, when the boatmen appeared with rueful countenances to report the disaster.

Next morning we proceeded up the river in search of the sunken boat, and at length saw her mast just above water near the opposite shore. It was now clear enough that our baggage had received the benefit of a night's soaking in consecrated water, a blessing which we should have been better satisfied to have dispensed with, as we found the sacred element just as hostile to portmanteaus and hair trunks with their perishable contents, as the waters of the commonest stream.

Having got into a small boat, we made for the spot where the mast was visible, and with the assistance of our dandies succeeded in saving a portion of our things from the wreck, though many were irrecoverable. In the course of the day the budgerow was despatched to our aid, when we put into her those things which we had recovered, and again dropped quietly down the river. The day was beautiful, though the loss of our baggage rendered us less alive to it than we no doubt should have been but for the unlooked-for misfortune of the preceding evening.

Boats are exposed to great danger in coming down the Ganges when the current is strong and the wind high. The wind assisting the impetus of the current frequently drives them with such force against the high banks, already undermined by the water, as to dislodge the superincumbent earth, which immediately falls in immense masses, and unless the boats are instantly driven past by the rapidity of the stream, they are overwhelmed and sunk. The current, however, is generally so rapid at the seasons of the year in which these accidents are to be apprehended, that no sooner do the boats strike than they are borne away beyond the reach of danger. Nevertheless, their progress is sometimes arrested for the moment, when the bank falls upon them, and they are inevitably swamped. While the river is falling, where the stream is impetuous, boats are occasionally thrown with violence against the banks of sand, which greatly interrupt the course of the Ganges, except when it is swollen by the rains and the melting of the mountain snow. Should such an accident occur, a passage

must be immediately cleared by human labour, though if the water should be fast subsiding, this is often impracticable; there is then no alternative but to allow the stranded boat to remain through the season upon the shoal, until at the periodical monsoon the water rises sufficiently high to float her.

The evening after our disaster a budgerow, in which was an English officer, passed us on its way to Benares. As we moored near the same spot, he invited us on board his boat. There was spread upon the roof of the cabin the skin of a large tiger which he had killed the preceding day. He told us that as the dandies were preparing to start in the morning, his budgerow being close to the shore, a tiger rushed from a neighbouring covert, and springing into it, seated itself upon the roof of the cabin. The boatmen instantly crept out of sight: the officer loaded his rifle and desired his servant to tie a rope to one of the small beams of the boat and, having first made a running noose, slip the reverse end gently over the animal's tail, which hung down on the outside of the cabin;—this object was therefore easily accomplished. No sooner did the fierce beast feel the pressure of the cord, than it sprang in wild alarm from the cabin-roof, and such was the impetuosity of its spring, that the beam gave way, and, when it gained the shore, was hanging at its tail. The tiger rolled on the bank with pain, writhing and yelling furiously, and the officer, taking a deliberate aim from the cabin-window, shot it dead.

On the morrow we floated again upon the broad bosom of the Ganga, which was hourly widening as

we approached Calcutta. As I now call to my recollection the beauties of that magnificent river, I shall indulge myself, and I trust gratify the reader, by giving a poetical description of it from the pen of one of its own native bards.

“ Gold river ! gold river ! how gallantly now
Our bark on thy bright breast is lifting her prow !
In the pride of her beauty how swiftly she flies,
Like a white-winged spirit through topaz-paved skies !

“ Gold river ! gold river ! thy bosom is calm,
And o’er thee the breezes are shedding their balm ;
And nature beholds her fair features pourtray’d
In the glass of thy bosom serenely display’d.

“ Gold river ! gold river ! the sun to thy waves
Is fleeting to rest in thy cool coral caves ;
And thence, with his tiar of light, in the morn
He will rise, and the skies with his glory adorn.

“ Gold river ! gold river ! how bright is the beam
That lightens and crimsons thy soft flowing stream !
Whose waters beneath make a musical clashing—
Whose waves as they burst in their brightness are flashing !

“ Gold river ! gold river ! the moon will soon grace
The hall of the stars with her light-shedding face ;
The wandering planets will, over thee throng,
And seraphs will waken their music and song.

“ Gold river ! gold river ! our brief course is done,
And safe in the city our home we have won ;
And as to the bright sun, now dropp’d from our view,
So, Ganga, we bid thee a cheerful adieu !”

These stanzas are taken from a volume of poems written in English by Kasiprasad Ghosh, a young

Hindoo. I am indebted to the kindness of Miss Emma Roberts, a lady of high literary attainments, who knew him in India, for the following particulars.

Kasiprasad Ghosh is of Brahminical descent. His ancestors were distinguished by holding high and responsible appointments under the native rulers of Bengal. Since the occupation of this vast province by the British, they have held a rank equally high as private members of their community. In 1821, when the subject of this brief memoir was fourteen years old, he was sent to the Anglo-Indian college at Calcutta, established under the superintendence of Mr. Horace Hayman Wilson, now Professor of Sanscrit at the University of Oxford. At this period the young Hindoo began to study the English language. During the six years that he was a member of this institution, he distinguished himself by several compositions of great merit, undertaken at the recommendation of Mr. Wilson. A critical essay upon Mill's British India, read at the public examination in 1829, was esteemed so highly creditable to his talents, that the Calcutta Government Gazette printed copious extracts from it, which were subsequently republished in London in the Asiatic Journal. The early productions of Kasiprasad Ghosh now appeared from time to time in the Calcutta periodicals, and the attention they attracted, together with the encomiums bestowed upon them by all who were acquainted with the disadvantages under which their author laboured, induced him to publish a volume of poems: this was exceedingly well received in India, and deservedly so, as the poems evince talent of no common order.

The personal appearance of this interesting Hindoo is highly prepossessing. His countenance is handsome and intellectual, his figure well-proportioned, and set off to great advantage by the graceful costume of his country. He invariably dresses in white muslin of the finest texture, his turban and large sleeves being most elaborately plaited, and the only costly portion of his attire is a splendid Cashmere shawl arranged with that happy taste which Asiatics so well understand how to employ. The young poet is distinguished by an easy and courteous demeanour and a modest estimate of his own acquirements; whilst the anxiety which he manifests to cultivate the acquaintance of foreigners of talent, combined with his own high personal and mental endowments, render the present tribute to his merits an agreeable duty.

CHAPTER XXII.

CALCUTTA.—EDIFICES.—SUNDERBUNDS.

ON the fifth day after we quitted Gour we reached Calcutta, from the splendour of its buildings now called the City of Palaces, though within a century it was nothing better than a rude straggling town without regularity or beauty, containing indeed a dense population, and surrounded by a dreary and unwholesome jungle, the haunt of robbers, and the abode of beasts of prey.

The modern town extends above six miles along the eastern bank of the Hoogley, and presents a very animated picture from the river here curving into a large bay, from the opposite side of which, called Garden-house reach, the view is taken represented in the engraving. This reach takes its name from several elegant country houses erected in the neighbourhood, each enclosed by an extensive garden; and here their opulent owners retire after the business of the day is concluded at their offices in the city. The buildings of the European portion of the town present an appearance of great splendour from their almost invariably having extensive and lofty porticos, supported on numerous pillars, which impart an air of Grecian grandeur to those edifices. To persons just arrived

from Europe the houses appear very imposing from their novelty of style, their size, and the richness of their architectural embellishments. The squareness and simplicity of their forms is striking, though this simplicity is perhaps too much intruded upon by the gorgeous façades and numerous columns with which they are generally adorned. The absence of chimneys is a novelty that does not escape a European eye, and associates with their grandeur of aspect the idea of a want of comfort rather repugnant to our notions of social enjoyment. The roofs of the houses are invariably terraced and surrounded by handsome balustrades, these being far more light and elegant than a parapet. The windows are large, and instead of being glazed are covered with venetian blinds, in order at once to admit the air and exclude the light, for heat is inseparable from light in this warm climate. The architecture, which is of the Italian school, is well adapted to a tropical country, though in some instances taste has been sacrificed to vulgar whim, many of the private dwellings having two pediments, as if, because one formed an elegant finish, two must give a proportionate increase of magnificence to the structure.

There is a square within the city extending upwards of a quarter of a mile each way, in the centre of which is a large tank surrounded by a low wall, and protected by an elegant iron railing. The top of the wall is at least fifty feet above the level of the water, to which there is a descent by a broad handsome flight of steps.

As rain water is much used in Calcutta for domes-

tic and culinary purposes, there is set apart in every house a room, in which is a number of large earthen jars. These are filled from the terraced roofs during the monsoons, and the water is preserved by an infusion of charcoal pounded small and thrown into each jar, which, by arresting the process of putrefaction, keeps the water sweet for any reasonable period.

The most striking edifice in Calcutta is the Government house. The lower story forms a handsome solid basement, with arcades on every side. All the pillars are of the Ionic order, though one of the largest rooms in the building is supported by Doric columns so beautifully chunamed as to resemble the finest white marble. There are four wings, one at each corner of the house, connected by circular passages, by which means there is a free circulation of air all round. These wings contain the private apartments, the main structure being devoted to the several public rooms set apart for the despatch of Government business, and for those public entertainments for which the metropolis of British India has been long distinguished in the palace of her rulers.

There are only two English churches in this large city, one of which appears in the engraving. It is a graceful structure, built by an officer of engineers, and does him great credit, as he has displayed a refined taste in the disposal of its architectural features. The other church is a much plainer building, and altogether inferior. Although from Garden-house reach the city has an air of grandeur unequalled by any native town in India, it must nevertheless be confessed that

at Delhi, Agra, and Lucknow, there are edifices of a far superior order in point of architecture, than the finest at Calcutta, and which indeed may fairly challenge comparison with anything of a similar kind in Europe.

Next to the Government house the principal building is the Custom-house, a low but capacious edifice with an elegant front, and containing extensive and commodious warerooms. At Cheringhee, the fashionable part of the town, there is a line of magnificent houses, extending like a row of palaces, and almost realizing some of the fictions of Eastern splendour. These houses are all inhabited by Europeans. They are mostly stuccoed, and stand each within a large area, being well ventilated; nor indeed is there wanting anything which the greatest refinement in luxury can suggest to remove the inconveniences of climate, and render them delightful abodes.

Although the portion of Calcutta inhabited by Europeans is airy, attractive, and imposing, nothing can exceed the wretchedness of that part of it occupied by natives. The streets are narrow, dirty, and unpaved. The great proportion of houses are little better than mud hovels, swarming with a squalid, half-starved, miserable population. Here disease, that constant ally of poverty and privation, is perpetually raging, and thousands are yearly victims to the awful evils thus superinduced to the miseries of destitution; nor does there appear any prospect of amelioration to those wretched beings who crowd together in the suburbs of this vast metropolis, only to form a sad community of wretchedness. While the

cholera prevailed, seven hundred daily are said to have fallen victims to this terrible scourge for a period of many weeks, during which time enjoyment of all kinds seemed suspended, and not an hour passed in which the wail of lamentation for the dead did not remind the living of the desolation that was spreading around them.

Fort William, standing about four or five hundred yards below the city, is a place of great strength. From the city a road runs by the river in front of the fort to Garden-house reach, round the shore of the bay, a distance of at least three miles, and from this point the best general views of Calcutta are obtained. The citadel towards the water, by which the only approach can be made with any reasonable prospect of success, has the form of a large salient angle, the faces of which enflade the course of the river. The ditch is dry, with a reservoir in the middle, that receives the water of the Hoogley by means of two sluices protected by the fort. The citadel was commenced by Lord Clive after the battle of Plassey. It is capable of accommodating a garrison of fifteen thousand men, and the works are so extensive that at least ten thousand would be required to defend them efficiently. They are said to have cost the Company upwards of two millions sterling. The interior of the fort is perfectly open, presenting to the view large grass plats and gravel walks, kept cool by rows of trees all in the finest order and fullest vigour of their growth, intermixed with piles of balls, bombshells, and cannon. Between the town and fort is the esplanade, a fine level, where the inhabitants enjoy a refreshing ride

“at shut of even,” when a grateful breeze from the river generally prevails, cooling the body and imparting an elasticity to the spirits altogether delightful.

The Hoogley exhibits at all times a very animated scene, but more especially at flood tide, when vessels from all parts of the world, and of every size and form, cover the broad bosom of its majestic stream. Indiamen of six hundred tons are frequently seen at anchor off Calcutta. A remarkable peculiarity of this river is that sudden influx of the tide called the bore, which rises in a huge wave sometimes to the height of sixteen or eighteen feet, sweeping up the stream at the rate of seventeen miles an hour, and overwhelming all the small craft within its rapid flow. It runs on the Calcutta side, but seldom extends above one-fourth part across the river, so that the shipping are generally beyond the reach of its influence. It nevertheless at times causes such an agitation that the largest vessels at anchor nearer the opposite shore pitch and roll with considerable violence.

One eminent advantage that Calcutta possesses is its inland navigation, which renders it the emporium of a vast variety of foreign imports; these are conveyed on the Ganges and its subsidiary streams to the northern parts of Hindostan, which return their commercial produce to the capital through the same channels. The amount of property commonly kept on sale by the native merchants is incredible;—the article of cloth alone has been estimated at a million sterling on the average. From the great variety of merchandise brought to this city, the property afloat is perhaps

seldom less than eighteen or twenty million sterling, though it is probable that the late large failures, by paralysing the monied and commercial interests, have considerably abridged this prodigious flux of capital. In 1808 the Calcutta Government bank was established. Fifty lacs of rupees—about five hundred thousand pounds—were advanced by the Government and private speculators, both native and European; forty lacs, or four hundred thousand pounds, belonging to the latter, and ten lacs, or a hundred thousand pounds, to the former.

Calcutta has undergone great improvements and is much enlarged within the last fifty years. The blackhole, the monument erected by Mr. Holwell to commemorate the horrible cruelty of Seyajee ud Dowlah who, having captured the British capital of Bengal, shut up a hundred and forty-six prisoners in a dismal cellar twenty feet square, in which all perished except twenty-three—the old Government house and several other buildings which existed a half century ago exist no more. The city has been mostly added to on the eastern bank of the river. Govinda Ram Mittee's pagoda, I believe, still stands; it is an extensive pile of peculiar form, and though partaking of none of the higher beauties of Hindoo architecture, is nevertheless a structure of much beauty. It was formerly, I believe, a place of great sanctity, though now no longer resorted to but by a few of the lower castes.

The inhabitants of Calcutta, native and European, are computed at about six hundred thousand souls, and the immediate neighbourhood within a circuit of

twenty miles is supposed to contain a population of nearly two millions and half.

Just before sunrise the air is cool and refreshing; it is therefore the custom to rise early and take a ride before breakfast, which is ready about nine. At halfpast one o'clock tiffin, or luncheon, is served; and dinner at sunset. The wines chiefly drunk are Madeira and claret. The tables are served with a variety of game, partridges, quails, peafowl, wild ducks, ortolans, hares, and venison. Fruits are to be had in great profusion and exceedingly cheap. But the chief luxury at Calcutta is the mango fish, so called from its only appearing during the mango season, and which is not approached in delicacy of flavour by any fish known in Europe. The style in which civilians live can scarcely be imagined by any one who has not crossed the Indian ocean. Even young writers affect such an air of state, and keep such expensive establishments, that notwithstanding their liberal allowances they often become so deeply involved as to be ever after unable to release themselves from the incumbrance.

Nearly a hundred miles below Calcutta, at the embouchure of the Hoogley, is the delta of the Ganges, called the Sunderbunds, composed of a labyrinth of streams and creeks, all of which are salt, except those that communicate immediately with the principal arm of the sacred river; those numerous canals being so disposed, as to form a complete inland navigation.

A few years before our visit to Calcutta, the captain of a country ship, while passing the Sunderbunds,

sent a boat into one of the creeks to obtain some fresh fruits which are cultivated by the few miserable inhabitants of this inhospitable region. Having reached the shore the crew moored the boat under a bank, and left one of their party to take care of her. During their absence, the lascar, who remained in charge of the boat, overcome by heat, lay down under the seats and fell asleep. Whilst he was in this happy state of unconsciousness, an enormous boa-constrictor emerged from the jungle, reached the boat, had already coiled its huge body round the sleeper, and was in the very act of crushing him to death, when his companions fortunately returned at this auspicious moment, and attacking the monster severed a portion of its tail, which so disabled it that it no longer retained the power of doing mischief. The snake was then easily despatched, and found to measure sixty-two feet and some inches in length.* The immense size of these snakes has been frequently called in question, but I know not why it should when the fact has been authenticated by so many eye-witnesses. Nor was it unknown to ancient historians; for Suetonius, in the forty third chapter of his *Lives of the first Twelve Cæsars*, mentions that the Emperor Augustus over and above the regular shows, gave others occasionally for the purpose of exhibiting any extraordinary object of which he might have

* The original picture, painted by Mr. W. Daniell, is in the possession of le Baron de Noual de la Loyrie; and that of the "Favourite of the Harem," also by the same artist, is the property of R. W. Cox, Esq. of Lawford, Essex.

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ingredients affected were those obtained in the usual course from Europe—being caffeine, acetylsalicylic acid (aspirin), and sugar of milk. The chief sources of these ingredients were Germany and Holland and the first effect of the war was to cut off supplies. The shortage became acute towards the end of the year, and, as a result, pill factories were difficult to locate and there was a definite shortage in the supply of pills for pill smokers.

The illicit imports of diacetylmorphine during the year came from north China and the supply of this drug appeared short in the latter part of the year. This may have been due to an increase in price but it is known that war conditions generally affected its purchase and movement. The scarcity of the drug was noted in the pills themselves—the amount of diacetylmorphine in each pill was found to be less in some cases towards the end of the year. The pill factories located were highly organized and it was obvious that elaborate precautions were taken to cover up all trace of the owners or other persons financing the factory operations. The precautions were extended to cover all movements of pill ingredients and the fact that the factories were in many cases located and raided within a few days of the commencement of operations reflects great credit on the small band of officers engaged in these investigations. These officers had the satisfaction on several occasions of effecting the arrest and later securing the conviction of persons, who had been known to be connected with the pill traffic over a considerable period, and their eventual arrest was the result of months of patient work. The majority of cases of the factory type were the result of investigations which have been carried out along original lines and not the result of direct information. This system was extended during the year to cover divans of both types with considerable success. As in previous years no money was found in pill factories or pill depots, and it is obvious that a special organization handles the financial side of the business. In two pill depots special memos authorizing delivery of pills were found, but there was of course no indication as to the place of origin or person issuing these memos. The persons carrying diacetylmorphine and dyacetylmorphine pills meet and exchange their loads (which are generally small and inconspicuous), in all kinds of public places as well as in hotels and private houses, and on some occasions officers specially detailed have been able to keep these appointments and secure arrests.

As in previous years very little money is found in pill and opium divans. This indicates that collectors must make frequent visits to remove to other premises the money received from patrons. In almost all cases the person found keeping an opium or diacetylmorphine pill divan claims to be the principal tenant of the premises or floor. In many cases where the same premises or floor was raided after the lapse of two or three days a new keeper who claimed to be principal tenant was found—in fact as many as five have been found within a month on the same premises. In Hong Kong it is common knowledge that tenement premises are let on a monthly tenancy and persons of the type usually found in charge of divans were not those who would be principal tenants.

II. CONTROL OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE.

(1) As already stated import certificates are issued allowing import of dangerous drugs for local use only. Slight temporary modifications were however made to meet the case of consignments intended for "relief purposes" in China. There were no exports of dangerous drugs which had been specially imported for Hong Kong use.

(2) These certificates are issued by the Superintendent of Imports and Exports. Diacetylmorphine must, if imported, be consigned to the Director of Medical Services who will hand the consignment over to the consignee. There have been no authorized imports of this drug for some years.

(3) The question of diversion or transit certificate did not arise. No diversion would be allowed without close scrutiny, and all shipments of opium and dangerous drugs in transit through the Colony, with or without transhipment, are scrutinized.

(4) Exporting countries regularly send copies of export authorizations, and these, after being checked for actual import, are returned to the issuing authority.

(5) No formal document is returned to the Government of the exporting country when a consignment of dangerous drugs is exported.

(6) No difficulties were experienced with regard to transit, transshipment or diversion and there is no free zone in Hong Kong. Opium or dangerous drugs held in Hong Kong for a few days pending transshipment on through bills of lading are stored in bonded warehouses.

(7) There was no traffic with countries which have not adopted the certificate system.

(8) There were no changes in the application of the system to Indian hemp, which is treated as a dangerous drug. Indian hemp has not been found in use in Hong Kong for illegal purposes and there appears to be no demand for this drug.

IV. INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION.

(1) Hong Kong, being a dependency of Great Britain, has no power to conclude international treaties or agreements.

(2) Hong Kong has continued to co-operate on every possible occasion with other governments. Where possible communication is made direct by the Superintendent of Imports and Exports to the responsible authority in far eastern colonies, and in other cases communication has been effected through the usual diplomatic channels. In addition to the British colonies special contact has been made with the departments concerned in the United States.

V. ILLICIT TRAFFIC.

(1) (a). The traffic in diacetylmorphine pills did not increase in Hong Kong during the year under review—the increase in the number of cases and pills seized was the result of organized operations against the dangerous drug menace. There is no doubt that the efforts of the last few years are making themselves felt in all directions. The persons at the back of the traffic have suffered, and are still suffering, huge losses and not a few are safely lodged in goal with the prospect of banishment from the Colony at the expiration of their sentence. During the year 3,714,914 pills were seized in a total of 794 seizures, of which 700 seizures were in pill divan cases. The persons found carrying pills in the streets were usually not of the coolie type, and the patrons of divans were as a general rule young and not of the lowest class. Females were found in many pill

divans—many were believed to be prostitutes. There was little evidence of the use of "white drugs" other than in the form of diacetylmorphine pills. In one case however, evidence of the preparation and smoking of cigarettes, in the end of which a small quantity of a mixture of cocaine and diacetylmorphine had been placed was found. The premises in which this evidence was obtained were occupied by northern Chinese who had been under suspicion for some time in connexion with the pill traffic. No arrest was made as, at the time of the raid, the occupants of the floor were out. Factories manufacturing diacetylmorphine pills continued to be located (a) before operations commenced, and (b) shortly after operations had started, and in two cases nearly a month elapsed after the premises had been occupied before pill operations commenced. It was obvious that the persons concerned were waiting to see whether the premises were suspect and fortunately the officers engaged in these special investigations were able to keep out of sight and allay suspicions.

(b) There were eleven seizures of diacetylmorphine during the year, which involved just over 115 ounces of the drug, but of these four only were important. The diacetylmorphine itself was of the crude type.

These cases were:

(1) Unnumbered house, Ngan Tau Mei Village. A large pill factory was located in this house and amongst other exhibits found (see report on pill factories), were 16 ounces of diacetylmorphine. The female in charge was arrested and convicted.

(2) Mat-shed, Lantau Island. This was a case of a large scale pill factory and amongst other exhibits 18 ounce of diacetylmorphine were found (see also report on pill factories). Two females and three males were arrested and convicted.

(3) Female passenger ex. 18, "Tat Shen" from Macao. A well-dressed and well-spoken female passenger arrived from Macao by the steamer indicated. She carried as her personal baggage two parcels containing 10000 packets each of medicinal tea, of Chinese native type. In one of the 2 packets diacetylmorphine was found mixed with tea in small quantity of the tea, and the total weight of the drug was 27 ounce. The female carried this as a gift for her friends, and the source of the tea was traced to the same source as the tea of the case (1) and (2) mentioned.

(4) Cecil Hotel, Victoria, Hong Kong. This case was the result of investigations spread over more than two years. A male had engaged the room on the morning of the raid and two others joined him at about mid-day. The three were known to the department and it was decided to raid the room. Nothing was found and the officers were on the point of leaving when a fourth male arrived and was shown into the room. He also was "known" and on his person three packets (12½ ounces in all), of diacetylmorphine were found. Unfortunately there was no evidence against the first three males but the fourth was convicted.

Appendices VA and B give full details of all important pill and diacetylmorphine cases, but it is impossible for them to convey any idea of the extraordinary good work which has lead up to these cases. Special attention is drawn to the enormous quantities of pill ingredients found in some of these cases. The average weight of 1,000 diacetylmorphine pills is nine ounces, and the weights of materials found give a clear indication as to the volume of business in view. Factories of this type would not produce less than 200,000 pills a day.

(c) There were only four seizures of other dangerous drugs during the year under review—three of these involved a total of 2,776 morphine pills in which morphine appeared to have been used as a substitute for diacetylmorphine, and one case which involved the possession of a few morphine ampoules—the total morphine content of which was 0.096 grams.

(d) There were 30 seizures of Iranian raw opium which involved 2,727 taels of the drug. The three large seizures are shown in Appendix IIA and the drug seized is believed to have been intended for Hong Kong consumption. In a number of small cases seizures were made under conditions which indicated that the drug was being taken to adjacent, and, for the time being, unoccupied areas of China. There were 148 seizures of Chinese raw opium which involved 7,380 taels of this drug. Of these three only were of the large type (see Appendix IIA), and in one, which involved 2,650 taels, it is believed that the opium, which came from the Shui Yuen and Liang Chow Districts, had reached Hong Kong via dealers in Shanghai and was intended for Singapore. The opium was not of the usual Yunnan type normally found in the Hong Kong illicit

market. It will be seen from Appendix IIB that the number of seizures of raw opium in 1939 was 180 compared with 276 in 1938. This decrease was due to the shortage of raw opium in the illicit market and there is no doubt that throughout the year the demand exceeded the supply. A steady demand at a price below that charged for its equivalent of licit opium still exists but many smokers were driven to use licit opium owing to the abnormal price and scarcity of the illicit article.

(2) No poppy, coca plants or Indian hemp plants are cultivated in Hong Kong.

(3) The number of prosecutions for offences against the Dangerous Drugs Ordinance is given in Appendix III. In the case of diacetylmorphine pills it should be noted that the same person is frequently charged with, (a) various dangerous drugs offences, and (b) various opium offences at the same time and place. Full details of all opium prosecutions are given in Appendix IV which is repeated from the report on prepared opium. The usual penalty for the possession of raw opium is H.K. \$20 per tael with a maximum of H.K. \$5,000 with alternative imprisonment up to one year. 2,114 persons were convicted by the magistrates for dangerous drug offences. It should be noted that 258,105 days in gaol were served by dangerous drug prisoners and 153,205 days in gaol by opium prisoners during the year under review, and the proportion of the total gaol expenditure which can be assigned to these prisoners is H.K. \$343,047.30.

(4) As stated above all important cases have already been reported to the League of Nations.

(5) Full details of all dangerous drugs and raw opium seized are given in Appendices I, IIA, IIB, VA and VB.

(6) The price of Chinese raw opium varied between H.K. \$6 and H.K. \$7.60 per tael, and Indian raw opium between H.K. \$7.00 and H.K. \$8.50 per tael during the year under review.

VI. OTHER INFORMATION.

All available information has been given. Statistics of import and movement of acetone anhydride were not available during the year, but there was no indication of the production of this material of diacetylmorphine.

(b) There are no wholesale dealers and the books and stocks of registered chemists are checked from time to time. Such inspections showed that the traffic through legitimate channels was in order.

D.—Other Questions.

XI. CHAPTER VI OF THE HAGUE OPIUM CONVENTION OF 1932.

No further information is available under this head.

XII. PREPARED OPIUM.

Please see special report on prepared opium.

XIII. OTHER DRUGS.

Hong Kong does not appear to possess any traffic under this heading. Careful watch is however kept for the appearance of such drugs on the local market.

Appendix IIA.

MAJOR SEIZURES OF RAW OPIUM DURING THE YEAR 1939.

Place of Seizure.	Kind of Opium.	Taels.	Destination indicated by Circumstances of Seizure.
Water front, Quarry Bay, Hong Kong	Iranian	720	Hong Kong
Garage of 18 Tai Hang Road	Iranian	564	Hong Kong
S.S. Tak Sang, Victoria Harbour	Chinese	2,650	Straits Settlements
S.S. Wing Wo, Victoria Harbour	Chinese	1,500	Hong Kong
Navy Street	Iranian	720	Hong Kong
Connaught Road Central ...	Chinese	575	Hong Kong

Appendix IIB.

Appendix IIIB.

CASES AT THE SUPREME COURT OF HONG KONG RELATING TO PERSONS
ARRESTED UNDER THE DANGEROUS DRUGS ORDINANCE
No. 35 OF 1935 DURING 1939.

Case No.	Number of Persons Charged.	Number of Persons Convicted.	Number of Persons Discharged.	Total of Sentences Imposed.
1	63	3	180½ years.	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1883	Nov. 1, 1883	1 W.	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1 F, 1 M	1 F, 3 Y.H.L., M, 1 Y.H.L.	At the time of the raid the female was found in the act of concealing 3,000 pills on the index person. The latter had brought a special delivery note for six packets of pills. The premises were used as a depot for a pill factory.
1883	Dec. 1, 1883	1 W.	Nil	Nil	Yec=small scale only.	Yec=small amounts	1 M.	1 Y.H.L.	The premises were raided during defendant's absence and newly delivered pills were found. The defendant returned during the search.
1883	Dec. 2, 1883	1 W.	Nil	Nil	Nil	18 ozs. Biscuits only	1 F.	1 F, 3 Y.H.L.	The defendant was out at the time of the raid but returned within half an hour. The premises were used as a depot for a pill factory—special jackets, for carrying pills in the streets, were found.
1883	Dec. 2, 1883	1 W.	9,200	Nil	Nil	Nil	3 F.	3 F, 3 Y.H.L. each.	These premises had been raided about six weeks earlier and new gear for a factory was then broken up. The females were found actually making the pills and the depot for powders at another address was also raided, but only a small stock of harmless ingredients was found.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
23.3.	Unnumbered house, Tong Mei Village.	40,650	Nil	Nil	Yes	Yes	1 M.	3 Y.H.L.	A small factory-premises had been occupied for one week only.
23.3	15 Yim Po Fong Road, 2nd floor.	17,000	Nil	Nil	Yes	Yes	N. A.	—	A large scale factory—pre- mises were locked up and nobody was at home at the time of the raid. A factory had been located on the same pre- mises in August 1933.
27.3.	26 Connaught Road W. 1st floor.	20,000	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1 M. (a small boy aged 13 years	6 Mths in Juvenile Home.	The small boy and pills were found in a room in a Chinese hotel—no clothing or gear was found in the room and the boy refused to state where he lived or who his parents were.
28.3	21 Lion Rock Road, 2nd floor.	7,000	Nil	Nil	Yes	Yes	2 M.	2 M.D.	This flat had only been occupied for a few days and operations had been conducted on a small scale. Over 50 lbs. of pill ingredients were found and the drying cupboard was a very large one, indicating that operations on an exten- sive scale were conform- plated.

	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	107 00	Nil	4 02	Yes	Yes	2 M. 2 F.	1 F. 3 V.H.L. (2 M. 3 V.H.L. 1 F.D.)	A large scale factory which had operated on the premises raided for about 10 days. The pills seized represented the day's output and were being packed for distribution at the time of the raid.
2	Nil	Nil	8 00 S. 00 P. 00 M. 00 A. 00 D. 00 P. 00 M. 00 A. 00 D. 00 P. 00 M. 00 A. 00 D. 00	Nil	Nil	1 M.	3 V.H.L.	The defendant was stopped and searched in the street and the packet containing the medicine was found on his person.
3	27 00	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1 F.	3 V.H.L.	Pills were found in a leather suitcase on the premises. Defendant admitted this case and contents were placed in her charge by a friend.
4	27 00	27 00	27 00	Yes - all on table	Yes	1 M. 2 F.	1 M. 2 F. 5 V.H.L. each	This was a large scale factory which had been established on a lonely beach. The matched wares newly built and the persons arrested were obviously not used to a country life. 122 lbs. of various pills in medicine were seized.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
23.5.	7 Spring Garden Lane. 2nd floor.	9,383 (also see Col. 10)	Yes (see Col. 10)	Nil	Yes small scale	Yes small amount	1 M.	18 Mths. H.L.	This was a small scale factory which appeared to specialize in two types of pills (a) with diacetylmorphine and (b) without diacetylmorphine. Under the latter head 27,000 pills and 6½ ounces of pink mass were found.
2.6.	38 Third Street, 3rd floor.	200	59,300	Nil	Yes small scale	Yes small amount	N. A.	—	The factory was discovered in a tenement house by Sanitary Inspectors during the course of a routine visit. The occupants of the cubicle escaped.
9.6.	64 Marble Road, Ground floor.	71,500	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	N. A.	—	The pills were found in a locked room on the floor and the occupants of the room had not been seen by the principal tenant of the floor for two days. The room was used as a distributing depot for a pill factory.

	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	2,000	2,000	1,000	Yes small only	2 M.	1 M. 3 Y.H.L. 1 M.D.		This factory was located after investigations hav- ing many weeks dur- ing the whole of which the two males arrested had been under observa- tion. It appeared to have operated on a small scale only.
2	Nil	Nil	1000	Yes large scale	Yes— 150—lbs.	N. A.		The premises were un- occupied at the time of raid and from the quan- tity of gear found at least six workers were employed in making pills. The premises had been occupied for less than a month.
3	1,200	Nil	1000	Nil	Small amount	1 M.	3 Y.H.L.	The male arrested occupied a small room at the rear of the floor. The room appeared to be used as a depot for a factory.
4	15000	50000	Nil	Nil	Nil	1 M. & 1 F.	3 Y.H.L. each.	The male and female were arrested in the act of carrying the pills, and packed in two bins, along a public road.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
27.6.	Tai Kwun Hotel, Des Voeux Road Central, Hong Kong.	30,000	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1 M. & 1 small boy.	1 M. 3 Y.H.L.	The male and small boy were found in a room in a Chinese hotel with the pills packed in three parcels. The room had been rented by a second male who could not be traced and the small boy had carried the parcels of pills into the room from a motor car. No clothing or travelling gear were found in the room. The small boy was convicted before the Juvenile Court and fined \$250 or 6 months in the Remand Home. Fine paid.
4.7.	Unnumbered Hut, Shallowater Bay, H.K. Island.	154,000	Nil	Nil	Yes—large scale.	Yes 76—lbs.	3 M. 3 F.	3 M. & 2 F. 3 Y.H.L. each, 1 F.D.	A large factory which had operated in a lonely hut on the seashore for five weeks. The powders found were sufficient for a second batch of pills.
6.7.	Unnumbered Hut, Shek Kip Mei.	Nil	8,000	Nil	Yes	Yes—small amount	N. A.	—	The hut was locked up and deserted at the time of the raid and no information about the inmates could be obtained.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
100	100	Nil	Nil	Nil	Yes—large scale	Yes—small amount	N. A.	—	A small factory—not in operation at time of raid.
200	100	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	N. A.	—	Two males who were on the floor at the time of the raid escaped over the roof to adjoining houses.
200	100	200	600	Nil	Yes—large scale	Yes—small amount	3 F. 2 M.	1 M. 1 M. 5 Y.H.L. 1 F. 3 Y.H.L. 3 F. 2 yrs. each in Salvation Army Home 1 F. not included.	A large scale factory which had operated for three weeks in a flat situated in a house in a good class neighbourhood. Three of the females arrested were juveniles.
200	100	200	Nil	Nil	Yes—small scale	Nil	1 F.	3 Y.H.L.	A small scale factory—the pills found had been made during the pre- vious night.
200	200	200	Nil	200	Yes—large scale	Yes—over 100—Box	3 M. & 1 F.	3 Y.H.L. each	Five miles were originally arrested but two escaped on the way to the Police Station. The day's out- put of pills were in process of being packed at the time of the raid, which was at midnight. The room used as a pill factory had been rented from the owner of the house about three weeks before the raid.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
14.8.	Street, Victoria, Hong Kong.	40,000	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1 M.	18 Mths. H.L.	The defendant was found carrying a basket in which the pills were packed. He refused to disclose their source or destination. The pills were warm when seized and had obviously come from a pill factory within an hour or so of the male's arrest.
17.8.	7 Ming Yuen Street, Top floor.	114,200	53,800	Nil	Yes	Yes	1 M. & 1 F. 3 Y.H.L.	1 M. 5 Y.H.L. 3 M. & 1 F. 3 Y.H.L.	The persons arrested were found making diacetylmorphine pills at the time of the raid. The premises were a floor in a Chinese tenement house and had been occupied by one of the male defendants for four months.
21.8.	25 Parkes Street, 2nd floor.	38,700	42,800	Nil	Yes	Yes	2 M.	1 M. & Y.H.L. 1 M. 3 Y.H.L.	The males were found making pills at the time of the raid. One of the males had been convicted in 1938 for running a Diacetylmorphine pill divan.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
The male arrested was seen in the street carrying the pink mass, which was ready for making into pills in a sufficee. He refused to give any information as to its source or destination.	Nd	Nd	Nd	21,000	Nd	Nd	Nd	1 M.	3 Y.H.L.	
The defendant was arrested whilst walking in the street at 4 a.m. She was carrying a bundle in which 16,000 pills were found and 5,000 pills were concealed on her person.	Nd	Nd	Nd	21,000	Nd	Nd	Nd	1 F.	15 Mths. H.L.	
Nobody was found on the premises at the time of the raid. The factory appeared to have operated in a small scale for a few days only. The pink mass found did not contain Diacetyl-morphine.	Nd	Nd	Nd	10,000	Nd	Necess- only	Necess- amount	N, A.	—	
The defendant was seen carrying two parcels in the street at Kowloon. He refused to give the source or destination of the Pills.	Nd	Nd	Nd	24,000	Nd	Nd	Nd	1 M.	1 M. 2 Y.H.L.	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
19.9.	15 Seymour Road, Ground floor.	58,000	Nil	Nil	Yes—large scale	80—lbs.	2 M.	1 M.D. at Magistracy. 1 M. 3 Y.H.L.	The factory was not working at the time of the raid but it was obvious that pill making on a fairly large scale had been carried on at this address.
20.9.	28, Clarence Terrace, Ground floor.	31,000	18,000	Nil	Yes—large scale	Yes about 40—lbs.	N. A.	—	The premises were in use as a pill factory but nobody was found on them at the time of the raid.
9.10.	25 Mosque Junction, Ground floor.	Nil	Nil	Nil	Yes	Nil	N. A.	—	Nobody was found on the premises at the time of the raid and the gear found was packed up ready for removal. The floor had been let to new occupants on October, 1st, 1939.
11.10.	5 Lan Lei Street, Ground floor.	222,500	Nil	Nil	Small amount	Nil	N. A.	—	The premises were on the ground floor of a block of semi European flats and the pills were found in a locked room on the mezzanine floor. From the appearance of this room and the absence of pill making gear it was obvious that the room was used for pill packing and distribution.

A small scale factory which was unoccupied at the time of the raid. The hut had been recently built and operations appeared to have been carried on on a small scale.

The premises, which had only been occupied for a few days, were being used as a distributing depot for Directmarine pills.

This was a newly established factory and the pills found had been made about three hours before the raid.

The defendants were found making pills at the time of the raid.

The hut was newly built and nobody was on the premises at the time of the raid.

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Yes small amount only

Yes

Yes

No

No

No

No

Yes

No

No

No

No

No

No

Yes

No

No

No

No

No

No

Yes

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No

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No

No

No

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
19.12.	191 Sai Yeung Choi St. Top floor.	15,500	Nil	Nil	Yes	Yes	N. A.	—	This floor had been rented for one week only and nobody was found on the floor at the time of the raid.
27.12.	97 Thomson Road, 3rd floor.	Nil	Nil	Nil	Yes	Yes— 25—lbs.	N. A.	—	This floor had been occupied a few days. Gear and powders for the manufacture of pills had been collected but no pills were found and none appeared to have been made on the premises.
27.12.	15 Yin Po Fong Street, 2nd floor.	49,000	Nil	Nil	Yes	Yes	N. A.	—	This was the third occasion in the last two years on which a pill factory had been located on this floor. The cubicle used as a pill factory was locked up at the time of the raid.

Appendix VB.

DETAILS OF IMPORTANT DANGEROUS DRUG SEIZURES.

Date	Where Found.	Amount Seized.	Arrests.	Result of Case.
1904	From passenger, ex "Yan Shan" from Macao, was carrying packets of Medicinal tea containing the drug.	27 ounces.	1 F.	3 Y.H.L.
1904	Room, Cecil Hotel, Victoria, Hong Kong.	12½ ounces.	1 M.	3 Y.H.L.
				Defendant entered a room in the hotel in which three other males had been found a few minutes earlier by Revenue officers. He had the diacetylmorphine in three packets concealed on his person, and it is surmised that he had an appointment to meet the three males and hand over the diacetylmorphine.

